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The Murder of Rizzio in Mary Stuart's chamber.—Page 123.

THE LIFE OF
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

By P. C. HEADLEY

Author of "LIFE OF LAFAYETTE," "LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE," etc., etc.

WITH NOTES BY
HENRY KETCHAM

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE.

Personal and historical interest of Mary's life.—Her ancestry—Circumstances of her birth.—Death of James V.—Henry VIII. of England solicits the hand of Mary Stuart for the young Prince of Wales.—Mary's coronation.—The treaty with England broken, and an alliance with France formed.—War is declared by King Henry.—Upon the death of Henry, Somerset becomes Protector.—He prosecutes the plans of his late King.—Battle of Pinkie.—Mary's removal to Inchmahome.—She sails for France.—Her arrival.—Her residence in the Convent.—She is removed to the Palace.—The Court of Henry II.—Mary's education.—Letter to her Mother.—Incidents.—Her beauty and accomplishments.—Her character at the age of fifteen..... 13

CHAPTER II.

The Dauphin.—Mary's attachment to him.—The treacherous conditions of marriage.—The magnificent nuptials.—The Commissioners' return to Scotland.—Rejoicings and developments.—Elizabeth ascends the Throne of England.—Her person and character.—Henry of France makes her the rival of Mary Stuart.—Changes in the French Court.—Death of Henry II.—Results.—The Dauphin's joy at his elevation to the Throne.—The condition of affairs in Scotland.—The Regent's death.—Treaty of peace.—Death of Francis II.—Mary's Mourning.—Elizabeth's condolence.—Foreign Ambassadors.—Catherine's jealousy.—Mary prepares to return to Scot-

PAGE

land.—Letter of the Laird of Lethington.—Negotiations. —The Queen's journeyings.—Elizabeth refuses a safe conduct.—Mary's departure.—Her adieu..... 35

CHAPTER III.

The voyage.—Mary arrives at Leith.—Popular rejoicings. —John Knox.—Mary's religious concessions.—Her public entry into Edinburgh.—Interview with John Knox. —The compromise.—Lord James Stuart.—Life at Holyrood.—Conspiracies and revolt.—Mary heads an army. —Another interview with Knox.—Correspondence with Elizabeth.—Proposed meeting of the Sovereigns.— Traits of character.—Scenes in the Palace.—Lovers.— Lords Dudley and Darnley.—Negotiations.—James Melvil's mission.—Randolph's visit to St. Andrews.—The result.—Murray's conspiracy and revolt.—The wedding 69

CHAPTER IV.

The immediate results of Mary's marriage with Darnley. —Campaign against Murray.—Mary Stuart is victorious. —She writes to Archbishop of Glasgow.—Issues a proclamation.—She discloses her plans for restoring the Catholic faith.—Letter to Philip II., of Spain.—Mary marching a third time against Murray, totally routs his faction.—He flies to England.—Elizabeth extorts a confession that she did not encourage the rebellion.—Mary's policy.—Rizzio's elevation.—Darnley loses the Queen's confidence.—His aspirations.—Darnley plots Rizzio's death.—The tragedy.—Mary's feelings and conduct.— Mary is a captive.—Darnley relents.—The flight.— Mary gathers an army.—Campaigns and victories.— Trouble with Darnley increases.—A son is born.—Congratulations.—Anticipations.—Bothwell and Mary.— Excursions.—Darnley's plans.—Yields to Mary.—The Christening.—A divorce or murder suggested to Mary. —The Conspiracy.—Mary's guilt.—The Issue..... 106

CHAPTER V.

PAGE

Mary's movements after the death of Darnley.—Mary at Seton.—Popular feeling.—The Earl of Lennox writes Mary.—Letter from Elizabeth.—Mary's intimacy with Bothwell.—The mock trial and acquittal of the Earl.—His arrogance and designs.—The banquet.—The nobles sign the bond praying Mary to marry Bothwell.—His rudeness to the Queen.—Her devotion to him.—The stratagem to hasten the wedding.—Its success.—Mary's return to Edinburgh.—The nuptials.—Domestic discord.—Embassies.—Rebellion.—Feeling in the Court of Charles IX., of France.—The confederates march towards Bothwick Castle—Bothwell escapes.—Mary's flight.—The preparations for battle.—Mediation of De Croc.—The Queen's extremity.—March to Edinburgh.—Her distress.—The warrant for her imprisonment.—Mary Stuart in Lochleven Castle..... 168

CHAPTER VI.

New dangers threaten Mary.—Sir James Melvil.—Elizabeth's interposition.—The designs and action of the Confederates.—Throckmorton's embassy and instructions.—The coronation of James.—The arrival of Murray.—His interview with Mary.—Is proclaimed regent.—The people approve the measure.—Elizabeth only interferes.—Murray triumphs.—Bothwell's fate.—His companions.—Mary in prison.—Attempts to escape.—She is at length successful.—Raises an army.—The battle.—Mary flies.—Reaches Carlisle.—Writes Elizabeth.—Throws herself on the mercy of the Queen of England.—Negotiations.—Elizabeth demands a trial of Mary.—Letters to her from the Captive.—Preparations for the conference.—The Court at York.—The position and error of Mary..... 201

CHAPTER VII.

The Conference.—Letter of Mary Stuart to the King of Spain.—The Scotch Commissioners withdraw.—Murray

PAGE

accuses Mary.—Elizabeth proposes to her Prisoner a reply to the evidence.—Mary refuses.—The Queen of England writes to Mary.—Mary vindicates her course. The conference closes.—Mary Stuart's letter to Elizabeth.—The conflict of royal determinations.—Mary is removed to the Castle of Tutbury.—Murray's movements.—The Duke of Norfolk aspires to the hand of Mary.—His designs discovered by Elizabeth.—Mary is more closely confined.—The Duke is arrested.—Mary writes to Elizabeth.—Insurrection.—Murray is triumphant.—His assassination.—His character.—Letters of Mary.—Negotiations with Elizabeth.—Conspiracy.—It is detected.—Norfolk's death and character.—Mary's condition..... 253

CHAPTER VIII.

Changes in the Regency of Scotland.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew.—Its effects on Elizabeth and Mary's prospects.—Designs against Mary.—Death of Knox.—The total overthrow of her party in Scotland.—Letter to Elizabeth.—Lenity of the English Queen.—Correspondence of Mary Stuart.—Another Conspiracy.—Letters to Archbishop of Glasgow.—Execution of Morton, Regent of Scotland.—A new Conspiracy.—Its failure.—Letter of Mary to Elizabeth..... 305

CHAPTER IX.

Mary Stuart is arraigned before the High Court of Justice.—Scenes of the Trial.—Elizabeth hesitates to pronounce the sentence of death, according to the unanimous voice of the Commissioners.—The result of the trial is announced to Mary.—Letters to friends.—Her last message to Elizabeth.—Interference of Foreign Courts.—Unnatural conduct of James VI.—Elizabeth signs the warrant of Mary's execution.—Paulet refuses to slay his prisoner privately.—The officers of justice

PAGE

repair to Fotheringay Castle.—The scenes there.—The warrant is read to Mary.—Her reply.—Affecting interviews.—Her last night.—Writes her will.—Prospect of death 381

CHAPTER X.

Mary Stuart's last slumber.—The morning dawns.—The interview with her servants.—Her devotions.—The summons.—The Captive's death-march.—Her address on the scaffold.—Religious scenes.—The Victim prepares for the sacrifice.—The fatal stroke.—Funeral ceremonies.—Effect of Mary's execution on the public mind.—Her character..... 411

PREFACE.

The universal interest felt in the romantic and tragical career of Mary Stuart seemed to demand an American biography, adapted to the popular mind. Such a work the one now offered to the public was designed to be. The authors mainly consulted and quoted are, Mrs. Strickland, Miss Benger, Mignet, McCrie, and Hume. Some of these historians, in their unqualified and extravagant admiration of the Queen of Scots, apologize for every fault, and illustrate glowingly every virtue. Others lean to the defence of Elizabeth, at the expense of Mary's cause.

Both extremes have been avoided in purpose, if not in fact, in this biography. Less pure and loving than Josephine, Mary Stuart was more beautiful, and tossed on more tempestuous seas; a weary captive, she laid at length her crowned head on the executioner's block, affording an historical record, and a moral lesson, none can contemplate without benefit to the intellect and to the heart.

LIFE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

The name of Mary, like that of Josephine, awakens a universal and mournful interest. Born to royalty, she was the most beautiful and accomplished sovereign in the world during a stormy period of the Scottish monarchy, and after a captivity of nearly half of her life-time, died on the scaffold, in the full maturity of her womanhood; illustrating the mutability of "all things terrene," and how great a misfortune may be the heritage of greatness. The peninsula of Northern Britain, which was the mountainous home of the Gaelic race, after the ceaseless war of clans for centuries, and invasions of the Saxons, Angles, and Danes, became an independent monarchy about the middle of the fourteenth century, when David II. ascended the throne founded by his illustrious father, Robert Bruce. An alliance with France * modified the severe manners of the Scottish nobility, and opened a refuge for the unfortunate Mary. Of the four kings who reigned before Mary's

* This alliance was cemented by the two successive marriages of James V. of Scotland, father of Mary Queen of Scots, with two daughters of Francis I. of France. See the second paragraph below.

father took the sceptre, James I. and James III. died by the hands of the assassin, and James II. and James IV. were slain in battle. James V. succeeded to the throne in 1513, then only eighteen months old, under the regency of Margaret of England, his mother.

The biography of Mary Stuart, therefore, has not only the interest of tragedy, but is a focal point in history, in which the past and present meet, with an intensity of life, perhaps, unknown in the annals of woman, if we except the rise and decline of the Empress, [Josephine] whose destiny was the dial of Napoleon's fate.

Mary Stuart was born December 8, 1542—(according to Miss Benger's Memoirs, December 7,)—at the palace of Linlithgow,* situated on the shore of a beautiful lake in the heart of Scotland. Her father, James V., assumed the reins of government when seventeen years old, and at twenty-three, married Magdalen, daughter of Francis I. King of France. She died two years later, and the King married Mary, eldest daughter of Claude de Guise, of Lorraine, and widow of Louis of Orleans—an accomplished and fascinating woman. There was a sad omen in the circumstances attending the birth of Mary. James, who had refused to meet Henry the Eighth of England at York, to form a religious union, was caressed and flattered by the cardinal and bishops, while the

* The palace of Linlithgow is beautifully located in the town of the same name, a small town numbering to-day a population of less than 4,000. It is about eighteen miles directly west of Edinburgh, and a short distance south of the Firth of Forth. The castle, which is very old, is supposed to have been founded by Edward I., that is, Ædward, King of the Saxons, who died in the year 925.

increasing spirit of faction spread among his nobles. When, therefore, his army came to battle with five hundred English, at Solway Moss, they immediately fled. His proud and passionate heart was stung with mortification, and weakly yielding to the calamity, he died a few days after hearing the tidings of Mary's birth. Upon the factious desertion of his forces, "the King passed out of Holyrood House to Falkland, and there became heavy and dolorous, that he never ate nor drank that had digestion; and so he became vehement sick that no man had hope of his life: then he sent for certain of his lords, both spiritual and temporal, to have their counsel, but ere they came, he was well nigh strangled to death by extreme melancholy. By this the post came to the King out of Linlithgow, showing him good tidings that the Queen was delivered. The King inquired whether it was a man-child or a woman; the messenger said, 'It is a fair daughter;' the King answered, Adieu! farewell: it came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass; and so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back to his lords, and his face to the wall. At this time Laird Beaton, Cardinal of Scotland, standing in presence of the King, seeing him begin to fail of his strength and natural speech, held a throck of paper to his grace, and caused him to subscribe the same, wherein the said cardinal wrote what pleased him for his own particular thinking, to have authority and preeminence in the government of the country. But we may know hereby the King's legacy was very short, for in this manner he departed, as hereafter I shall show you.

He turned him upon his back, and looked and looked and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, then kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his nobles round about him, thereafter held up his hands, and yielded his spirit to God."

No sooner was the King buried, than the unconscious infant, his only daughter, became the object of political intrigue and bitter jealousies. The English monarch dispatched Sadler, a distinguished negotiator, to secure the marriage of his son Edward to the heiress of Scotland. His design was to consolidate the interests of the two kingdoms, and establish abiding peace. The difficulties to be overcome were manifold. The nobility were divided. A large party was dependent on England, another sympathized with France, and a third, the smallest faction, was composed of genuine patriots- -high-minded men, ready to defend with their blood, the independence and glory of their ancient realm. The clergy were of course hostile to the Reformation, and actively fanned the flame of discord between England and semi-catholic Scotland. Meanwhile, the Earl of Arran, through the ascendency of the nobility, was appointed by Parliament Regent of the kingdom. To him Sadler proposed the alliance. Cardinal Beaton, who had aspired to the regency, employed his influence over the earl, to prevent the consummation of the politic scheme, and obtain a similar arrangement with France, a papal power. Although Arran vacillated. Henry the VIII. might have succeeded, had not his fiery and impetuous nature urged his claims too vehemently. He demanded the guardianship of Mary

till she was of marriageable age, and also asked the surrender of several of the most impregnable fortresses in Scotland. This exaction roused popular feeling, and Henry was compelled to contract his royal ambition to the simple requisition, that the juvenile Queen be sent to England when she had reached her tenth year, and espouse the Prince of Wales. On the 1st of July, 1543, a treaty was concluded between the Regent and King Henry. During this excitement, spreading over two monarchies, and enlisting the diplomacy of lords and kings, Mary Stuart was smiling in the dreams of helpless infancy at Linlithgow. The *loch* sparkled beneath the castle windows—fountains sent up their showers of diamonds—and the soothing accents of Janet, her nurse, were more welcome than the salutations of steel-clad barons and earls, who came to look on the child, and congratulate the widowed mother. It was well that neither parent nor offspring saw the strange contrasts and fearful hours of the future. Mary was about nine months old, when her coronation was appointed, on the 9th of September, 1543, at Stirling Castle—less than a score of miles from Linlithgow—where this pageant had for many years been witnessed.

The day was one of universal and thrilling interest in Scotland. The first female sovereign on the throne of Bruce, was to be invested with crown and sceptre. Two rival kingdoms and the reformers of Europe were concerned in the significant event. To behold the magnificent scene, came pilgrims from highland and lowland, and from adjacent realms, winding up the hill sides from the beautiful vales, to the rocky summit, frowning with the battlements

and towers of Stirling Castle. In the glittering train that followed the infant Mary, the Earl of Arran bore the crown—Lennox held the scepter. It is a singular fact, that the fathers of Darnley and Bothwell, the immediate instruments of Mary's tragical overthrow, were among the attendants who assisted in her coronation. Cardinal Beaton placed the symbol of regal power upon the brow of the laughing babe, around whom factions sternly faced each other, and the shouts of the multitude made the old fortress rock to its base. The only bewildered and unconscious being there, was the heiress to scarcely less than a *crown of thorns.*

When the imposing ceremonies had passed, and the intrigues of aspiring men were renewed, the Earl of Arran began to feel the force of a long cherished family preference for French alliances, and the artful appeals of Cardinal Beaton. Renouncing his Protestant tendencies, he joined the Catholic party, of which the Queen Dowager,* distinguished for her dissimulation and diplomacy, was the head. The covenant with England was therefore annulled, and on the 15th of December, less than six months after the treaty with Henry was formed, an alliance with France was signed at Edinburgh, by the Regent and Estates of Scotland, who at the same time ratified, in Mary's name, all the treaties which had been made between the realms, since the reign of Robert Bruce.

This was the signal of war, which was declared by the enraged monarch of England, and a fleet was dispatched to the Firth of Forth. This armament left black desolation in its path along the coast,

* Mary of Guise.

and at length threatened with the torch of conflagration the noble city of Edinburgh. Upon the southern frontier hung the English army, ravaging the Scottish plains with frequent and lawless incursions. It was the folly of a prince, haughtily impatient of restraint, to anticipate success by urging young Edward's right to Mary's hand, upon the resolute Scotch, with the ruthless enterprise of a freebooter. The inevitable result was, a deepening hatred of the English, and more determined resistance. From France, auxiliary troops were called, to prosecute vigorously the war. The whole country was in a state of alarm. Persecution went abroad, with unrelenting cruelty. The castle of St. Andrews and the French galleys received the leaders of the English Reformation in Scotland. The virtuous and gifted Wishart went to the stake under the religious despotism of Cardinal Beaton; and bloody deeds were everywhere common. The death of Henry VIII. in January, 1547, left his experiment of uniting the houses of the Stuarts and the Tudors, a total failure, and the kingdoms of Scotland and England wider asunder than at any previous period.

The Duke of Somerset, uncle of Edward VI., was appointed Protector of the kingdom, during the minority of the Prince, and carried forward energetically the plans of the late King. With an army of eighteen thousand men, he appeared on Scottish soil, and offered to retire, only on conditions that Mary should remain in her native land till old enough to marry, and that all negotiations with France cease forever. But the spirit of national independence, which spurned the humiliation of concession, lived

among the highlands, and in the palaces of the divided nobility. The Earl of Arran gathered a force of more than thirty thousand soldiers, and marched to the banks of the Esk, four miles from Edinburgh, where Somerset had taken his position. The Protector then renewed his proposals to evacuate the realm, and also repair damages which he had committed, upon the same terms as before. The Scotch, confident of victory, refused, and after some manœuvering, the battle opened. The strife was fierce; and when the clashing of spears had died away, and the tempest of arrows ceased, there lay ten thousand of Arran's host on the field, and the remainder were flying hotly before the shouting enemy, whose loss was scarcely two hundred men. This decisive contest was called the battle of Pinkie, from the seat of a nobleman near the scene of bloody encounter. The English, advancing to Leith, finally entrenched themselves in the southern part of the country, and received the surrender of the lairds along that frontier. Somerset, alarmed by cabals against him at home, hastened to London; and Scotland, improving the delay, turned anxiously to France, tendering that power the guardianship and inheritance of Mary Stuart. The Princess had passed the period of these exciting events at Stirling Castle, under the care of her governors, Lords Erskine and Livingston, a lovely, laughing girl, not six years of age, when the tidings of defeat at Pinkie reached the royal fortress.

Stirling was now in danger of assault, and it was determined to remove Mary to the island of Inchmahome, in the lake of Monteith.* There was a

*Mr. Abbott puts Mary's removal to Inchmahome about

monastery there, sheltered by its isolation from the foraging troops of the English army. It was a romantic retreat, devoted to religious purposes mainly, and like Calypso's island * to the young captive of Stirling Castle. In addition to the curators of her person, she was attended by Erskine, the prior of Inchmahome, the parson of Balmaclellan, the nurse, Janet Sinclair, her governess, Lady Fleming, daughter of James Fourth, and over all, Mary of Guise, whose clear intellect was stimulated to activity and vigilance by maternal affection. To increase the pleasures of an only daughter, and give completeness to her culture, she formed a social group, or school, of four girls, about the same age, and bearing the name of the Queen. The first was Mary Beaton, niece of the cardinal; the second, Mary Fleming, daughter of Lord Fleming; the third, Mary Livingston, and the fourth, Mary Seton.

Little is known of Mary Stuart's history in Inchmahome. She had begun an acquaintance with the French language, and, it is said, with the classics. Doubtless, excepting the occasional recitations, matins and vespers, these children, six years of age, passed their time as others do, amid the pleasant scenes of quiet life, in juvenile pastimes, and rambles over the green esplanade of their consecrated home. In a few months the Marys were removed from this tranquil and delightful refuge to Dumbarton Castle; where bold and romantic scenery has furnished

three years earlier, which does not agree with Mignet and others.

* Ogygea. According to Homer's Odyssey, Ulysses was here detained by Calypso for seven years.

glowing themes for Scottish song. This transfer, which contemplated the interference of the Duke of Somerset to prevent the escape of Mary to France, was, on that account, of short continuance. Admiral Villegognon, with four galleys, was in the Clyde, to convey the Queen and her retinue to the dominions of Henry II., who had succeeded Francis I. The fleet sailed from harbor the 7th of August. The parting with her mother was affecting; but it is affirmed by biographers, that no murmurs escaped the young exile's lips. She wept with a multitude of her people, as the royal vessel floated away, and her native land began to recede from her radiant eye. Scarcely had the fleet passed out into the deep, before the English squadron arrived at St. Abbs' Head, to oppose its departure from the coast of Scotland. After a pleasant voyage, the flying Mary, with her company, arrived at Brest, August 13th, 1548. She was received with great pomp by the King of France, and the procession moved on to Paris amid the regal splendor of that extravagant period of French history. Prison doors were thrown open at the approach of the cavalcade, and the captives restored to freedom. It was a strangely exciting scene to the laughing girl who was the cause of it all.

After a brief residence in the palace of St. Germain, surrounded with courtly pageantry, Mary was removed to a convent, to complete her education. She was subjected to strict rules of discipline, and regularly accustomed to join the nuns in their devotional exercises, and ascetic humiliations: and so readily did she comply with whatever was required by her spiritual directors, that they began to cherish

ambitious hopes of their royal pupil, and to boast that she had a religious vocation. This persuasion was too agreeable to self-love and to enthusiasm, to be confined to their own community; the nuns officiously proclaimed their conviction that the little Mary Stuart would be a saint on earth: and with such zeal was the rumor propagated, that it even reached the King, who had just returned from Boulogne, and who, not relishing the suggestion, immediately demanded that his daughter-in-law elect should be transferred to apartments in the palace, where she could no longer be accessible to sainted maids, or exposed to their pious seductions. According to her learned biographer,* the execution of this mandate drew from Mary more tears than she had shed on leaving Scotland. Whether the endearing manners of the community had so strongly engaged her affections, or that, in the tranquillity of her retreat, so congenial to the simple wishes of childhood, the sensibilities of her nature had prematurely expanded, we are assured not only that she evinced deep sorrow at this change of residence, but that she eagerly embraced every permission that was offered, of revisiting the sisters of the community, and long after employed her needle in embroidering an altar-piece for the church of their convent.† In the palace, as before, Mary was attended by her two scholastic preceptors, her governess, the Lady Fleming, and her curator, Reid, Bishop of Orkney, who had succeeded Lord Livingston in that important trust. Her Marys continued to be her constant companions; and as she dis-

* Conæus in Jebb.
† Ibid.

covered uncommon aptitude to application, nothing was omitted to stimulate her exertions or increase her diligence. Exclusive of the Latin and French, she began also to study the Italian language; but music was rarely cultivated by the great as a science, and it was not till a later period that she learnt to play on the virginals and clavichords.*

The education of Mary was precisely such as was given to the daughters of France, with certain supplementary literary advantages, for which she appears to have been exclusively indebted to the superintendence of her uncle, Cardinal Lorraine. "In the education of a royal personage, mental cultivation, however highly valued, was of subordinate importance to the acquisition of those external accomplishments, necessary to that public exhibition which is unavoidably imposed on the station of a sovereign. For those who live exposed to the public gaze, alternately the objects of criticism and admiration, to be wanting in a dignified carriage, or gracious demeanor; to be untasteful in dress, of ungraceful speech, or shy, repulsive manners, has ever been an irreparable defect, for which neither moral nor intellectual qualities could compensate to their possessor. To guaranty the royal pupils from this misfortune, appears to have been a primary object with the French teacher: and whilst the prince was taught to ride, to fence, and to perform all the athletic exercises suited to his sex and rank, he was at the same time habituated to speak in public, to recite discourses, which he, perhaps, scarcely understood, and

* Both these instruments, of crude and primitive construction, were predecessors of the piano.

to address, in a tone of confidence and friendship, those to whose persons and character he was almost a stranger."

The influences which were to attend Mary appear in a brief and vivid description of royalty. This court was then the most magnificent, the most elegant, the most joyous, and, we must add, the most lax in Europe. Still retaining certain military customs of the middle ages, and at the same time conforming to the intellectual usages of the time of the *renaissance*, it was half-chivalric and half-literary, mingling tournaments with studies, hunting with erudition, mental achievements with bodily exercises, the ancient and rough games of skill and strength with the novel and delicate pleasures of the arts. Nothing could equal the splendor and vivacity which Francis I. had introtroduced into his court, by attracting thither all the principal nobility of France, by educating as pages therein young gentlemen of all the provinces, by adorning it with nearly two hundred ladies belonging to the greatest families in the kingdom, and by establishing it sometimes in the splendid palaces of Fontainebleau and St. Germain, which he had either built or beautified, on the banks of the Seine, and sometimes in the spacious castles of Blois and Amboise, which his predecessors had inhabited, on the banks of the Loire. A careful imitator of his father's example, Henry II. kept up the same magnificence at his court, which was presided over with as much grace as activity by the subtle Italian, Catherine de Medici, whose character had been formed by Francis I., who had admitted her into the little circle of his favorite ladies, with whom he used to hunt the stag, and fre-

quently sport in his pleasure-houses! The men were constantly in the company of the women; the Queen and her ladies were present at all the games and amusements of Henry II. and his gentlemen, and accompanied them in the chase. The King, on his part, together with the noblemen of his retinue, used to pass several hours every morning and evening in the apartments of Catherine de Medici. "There," says Brantome, "there was a host of human goddesses, some more beautiful than others; every lord and gentleman conversed with her he loved best; whilst the King talked to the Queen, his sister, the dauphiness, (Mary Stuart,) and the princesses, together with those lords and princes who were seated nearest him." As the kings themselves had avowed mistresses, they were desirous that their subjects should follow their example, "and if they did not do so," says Brantome, "they considered them coxcombs and fools."

Mary's education had, therefore, all the elaborate culture and glaring faults incident to royal munificence, Romish instructors, and a corrupt court. Pride of lineage, and self-respect that would repel a stain upon hereditary honors, sooner than an assault upon personal virtue, were conspicuous in the splendid reign of Henry the Second. There was pageantry reflecting the ancestral glory of past ages, and a polished surface-dressing of society, which concealed a melancholy want of religious tone and purity. Instead of the power of Puritan faith, the young Queen embraced ardently the dogmas of persecuting Rome. These early influences upon her character were after-

wards developed in acts which partially eclipsed her amiable qualities and brilliant genius.

When Mary was nearly eight years old, her mother, Queen Dowager of Scotland, reached Rouen. The arrangements for this anticipated visit were expensive and imposing. After the dazzling reception given by the King and his attendants, Mary of Guise was conducted to the apartments of Mary Stuart. The sight of the beautiful girl, whose deportment had the refined dignity of queenly womanhood, was like a rapturous vision to the ambitious mother. Tears of joy fell fast, and smiles of maternal affection played brightly round her tremulous lips. But the Princess stood in the conscious greatness of her destiny, and with the subsiding ecstasy of her mother, quietly demanded, "whether any feuds continued to subsist in the noble families of Scotland; at the same time inquiring by name for those who had evinced most attachment to the ancient faith." She then proceeded to ask, with all the usual expressions of royal benevolence, "if the English still harassed her dear native country; whether divine worship had been preserved in uncontaminated purity; whether the prelates and priests attended to their respective duties, expressing detestation for all who had forsaken the faith of their fathers." This premature display of powers, betrayed both her docility toward her teachers, and the artificial training of the palace and the times. For two days, festal scenes were witnessed in the ancient town of Rouen.

"The only classical part of the show was a triumphal arch, under which passed a procession, at once superb and grotesque. The first object was a chariot,

drawn by a unicorn, after which came two elephants, or rather horses so disguised as to represent them, bearing on their backs two litters, in which were seated ladies, of whom a transient glimpse was taken from the latticed apertures. Religion followed in her triumphal car, bearing in her arms the appropriate symbol of a church. Next to these walked a man, carrying the image of the Virgin and the child Jesus. Then followed the car of Fortune, in which rode another man, young and handsome, as the representative of Henry the Second, behind whom stalked a boy, to personate the Dauphin. To crown the whole, Neptune glided along with Amphitrite, attended by tritons and sea monsters."

This display was followed by a public entry into Paris. For a year, Mary enjoyed the society of her mother, surrounded with scenes of festivity and all the pleasures of a court, of which she was the favorite. It is not strange that her early love grew strong for France, and that in after life she turned to memory's record of those departed joys, with tears. But the Queen Dowager had more ambitious aims to secure before leaving the palace of Henry, than the society of her daughter and the brilliant succession of entertainments which she enjoyed. Her aspiring heart had been long fixed on attaining the regency of Scotland, which now she saw within her grasp. It was only necessary to obtain the assent of the King to the conditions, upon which the Earl of Arran might be induced to resign his office in her behalf. With this pledge, she prepared to leave her native land. Her widowed mother, Antoinette of Bourbon, was wasting away at Joinville, under the rayless gloom of

cherished mourning for the dead, and self-inflicted mortifications, heightened by the sympathy she extorted from all around her. To this mother, sitting in the shadow of death, a weeping monument of inexorable despair, Mary of Guise, with filial respect, made a toilsome journey. Entering the ample apartments of the maternal mansion, which were hung in black, she communed for the last time with a spirit, beneath whose surface, calm with habitual grief, burned intensely a persecuting intolerance towards heretics. From the tomb of the living she hastened again to Fontainebleau, to bid adieu to Mary Stuart; and breaking away from the ties of family and country embarked for England, to consummate her ambitious plans.

The parting look was her last upon Mary; they met no more this side the vale of eternal scenes. The education of the young Princess was continued with dazzling progress. Living in the atmosphere of literature, where the King's daughters were linguists, and the arts a theme of constant criticism, her genius outshone the more mature, lending its fascination to her unrivaled beauty of person. At ten years of age, she wrote the following letter to the Queen Dowager, concerning the affairs of Scotland, with a practical sense and precision which astonished even her admirers, as an exhibition of precocious talents and culture, both in science and belles-lettres, and in the policy of ambitious sovereigns: *

"1552.

"MADAME—I have received the letters which you

* This letter, of course, was written in French, and is here given in translation.

have been pleased to write me by Aztus Asquin, by which I have learnt the pleasure you have felt that I have kept secret the things which it pleased you to send to me. I can assure you, madame, that nothing that comes from you shall be known by me (*ne sera sceu par moy*). . . . . I humbly beg you to believe that I shall not fail to obey you in everything in which you are pleased to command me, and to think that the chief wish I have in the world is to be obedient and agreeable to you, doing you every possible service, as I am bound. I have seen, by your letters, that you beg me to approve the marriage-gift of the late M. Asquin to his son, who is here. I humbly entreat you never to give me anything but your commands, as to your very humble and very obedient daughter and servant, for otherwise I shall not think I have the happiness of being in your good graces. As for my master, I will do as you have told me. I have shown the letters you have been pleased to write to me to my uncle, Monsieur de Guise, thinking that you would wish it, though, after the directions you have given me, I should not have shown them but that I was afraid I could not arrange things without his help. I write two other letters with my own hand; the one concerning Mde. de Parroys, and the other for my master, that you may be able to show that of my said master without this, so that they may not think that you have told me anything about it. . . . . I should have written to you in cipher, but my secretary has told me that it was not necessary, and that he was writing to you in cipher. I write also to my natural brother, (*frère bastard,*) according to the advice of my uncle, M. de Guise. The said letters

are open, in order that you may deliver them if you approve of them."

Music, poetry, drawing, the exciting pleasures of the chase, aquatic excursions, and social scenes, were crowded into the premature experience of Mary. On one occasion, riding at full speed in pursuit of a stag, attended by a party of the nobility, her dress caught in the boughs of a tree, and in a moment she was unhorsed, and lying upon the turf. The company passed on without seeing her. Her coolness was admirable; she made no outcry, and when her steed was brought back, she arranged her disheveled hair, and remounting, again dashed forward in the chase.

The following letter, written about this time, when Mary was twelve years old, and addressed to her mother, gives a glimpse of the careful guardianship with which she was environed, and of her filial temper:

"MADAME—I have been well pleased to find so good an opportunity to write you, as I still remain here in this place of Mendon, with my grandmother, where the King and the Queen are to come Thursday next, to the baptism of my little cousin. My uncle, the cardinal, has informed me that all the lords of my kingdom are well disposed to obey you, and to do for you, as well as for myself, whatever you may please to command them, for which I am very grateful, and well pleased, desiring very much to hear your news, and awaiting which, I present my very humble compliments to your good grace—praying God to give

you, madame, happiness and long life, I am your very humble and very obedient daughter Mary. Madame, once more I thank you."

A year later she composed a Latin speech, and recited it in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the entire court, assembled in the hall of the Louvre. The Cardinal of Lorraine wrote to her mother in the following strain of eulogy:

"Your daughter has so increased, and indeed increases daily in height, goodness, beauty, wisdom, and virtues, that she is as perfect and accomplished in all things honest and virtuous as it is possible for her to be; and there is no one like her to be found in this kingdom, either among noble ladies or others, of whatever low or mean condition and quality they may be: and I am constrained to tell you, madame, that the King takes such a liking to her, that he often passes his time in chatting with her for the space of an hour; and she knows quite well how to entertain him with good and wise conversation, as if she were a woman twenty-five years of age."

The homage paid to Mary's beauty and graceful mien was universal.

Upon a grand religious occasion, when a magnificent procession moved at evening, each lady bearing aloft in her right hand a lighted torch, and in her left waving a palm of victory, it is recorded that a woman, with superstitious wonder, approached Mary, while her beaming face reflected the brightness of her beacon, and exclaimed, "Are you not indeed an an-

gel?" Mary also excelled in the art of embroidery, then a popular and essential part of female education, and which she cultivated, together with the invention of heraldic and other devices, under the eye of the dignified, refined and imperious Catherine, the Queen of France. It is related by Conæus, that while Mary Stuart was passing the limited hours, with the King's daughters, in the royal apartment, she "had neither eye nor ear but for her elect stepmother; she eagerly treasured every word that fell from her lips, watched her looks, imitated her motions, and evidently was anxious to form herself upon the accomplished model before her." The same writer adds, that when Catherine inquired of the princess, why she preferred her society to the companionship of youthful persons, the womanly maiden replied, "that with them she might, indeed, enjoy much, but could learn nothing; whilst in her Majesty's wisdom and affability she found an example and a guide for her future life." Catherine smiled at the reply, as an idle compliment. She naturally felt her maternal pride wounded by the transcendent attractions of her *protégée* in contrast with her own daughters, and fearing future rivalry in the claim to royal honors, soon betrayed a secret enmity towards the unoffending Mary.

Contemplating the extraordinary endowments of the fair exile, with her subsequent history before the mind, who can suppress a rising sadness in view of the beauteous victim, having all of life that was joyous, and kept like a pagan offering in the temple of sacrifice, caressed and crowned with garlands, for the *altar*.

And it cannot be denied that Mary Stuart's *heart and conscience* were continually in danger; if neither were stained by her friendships and contacts with the accomplished and unprincipled nobility, she were a greater marvel than the Hebrew amid the convivial population of the cities, from which he fled to escape the retributive storm. Her guardian uncle, Cardinal of Lorraine, stamped upon her religious character his own hostility to John Knox and the spirit of reform, which must have modified those sensibilities that are refined by a pure Christianity. Thus, at the age of fifteen, the fairest princess of Europe is a fascinating, flattered, and educated maiden; virtuous, but her gentle spirit expanding in a tainted air; conscientious in religious duties, but according to the unsoftened dogmas of an ancient and persecuting faith. Realms and their sovereigns are deeply interested in the destiny of the exiled daughter of the House of Stuart—a destiny which at this early age reached an exciting and decisive turn, in its gay and onward march to the abyss of human woe.

CHAPTER II.

Francis, son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medici, was born at Fontainebleau, January 19, 1544; and was, therefore, about a year younger than Mary Stuart, by whom, from early childhood, he had been regarded as her future husband. This was the arrangement of royal policy; and the youthful heirs to sovereignty had, during the pastimes of childhood within the same palace, formed a mutual affection. The Dauphin * was constitutionally and mentally weak, yet amiable, and when aroused, energetic. His personal appearance was plain, and his disposition extremely retiring. Shrinking with timid sensibility from responsibilities, he was neither formed to command, nor win the popular homage. Although Mary was in all respects his superior, eclipsing by the splendor of her talents, his ordinary endowments, and fond of learning as he was of intellectual indolence, she evidently loved him for his virtuous habits and enthusiastic devotion to her, whose smile and pleasant words would always kindle into animation, the habitual repose of his yet juvenile features. But had she even felt a repugnance to the alliance, so

* So called from the ancient province of Dauphiny, a prince of which, upon the loss of his only son, bequeathed his large estates to the King, on condition that the eldest son of the reigning monarch of France should thereafter bear the title of Dauphin.

completely was she under the influence of her uncles, Duke of Guise, who was at the head of military affairs, and Cardinal of Lorraine, who controlled the clergy and finances, that her real sentiments would not have been revealed by lips which were carefully trained to the concealment of kingly designs and motives.

Whatever the depth of Mary's love, the nuptials were appointed to be celebrated on Sunday, April 24th, 1558. Catherine opposed the marriage as premature, while the secret reason was the glory of the princess, in conflict with the hopes of her own aspiring family. The Protestants of Scotland, also, desired to defeat a union which threatened the dawning reformation with powerful restraint, if not temporary overthrow. So bitter was the animosity, that, according to historical anecdote, Stewart, an archer in King Henry's guard, attempted to poison Mary, but was detected and beheaded. There were other factions at home and abroad, hostile to the approaching marriage. All these sources of solicitude stimulated Henry to consummate the favorite purpose of his heart.

In the meantime, on the 31st of October, 1557, Henry wrote to the parliament of Scotland, inviting them to send a deputation to Paris, and sanction the marriage in the name of their kingdom, and attend the ceremonies of the wedding. December 14th, Parliament met, and, assured by the regent's plausible representation, appointed nine commissioners to fulfill the royal request. These were, Archbishop of Glasgow; the Bishops of Ross and Orkney; the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis; and Lords James Stuart,

James Fleming, George Seaton and John Erskine of Dun. They were instructed to secure as an indispensable condition of approval, from both the Queen and the Dauphin, "a promise to preserve the integrity of the kingdom, and observe its ancient laws and liberties."

We now have to record a treacherous act, matured and completed by a corrupt court, but in which Mary was a party by consent. She was only a maiden, truly, but a tender conscience and resolute will would have dared, for honor's sake, to offend unscrupulous aspirants for crowns. On the 4th of April, Mary signed, at Fontainebleau, two secret acts of sweeping and dangerous import. The first of these acts was a full and free donation of Scotland to the Kings of France, in consideration of the services which those monarchs had at all times rendered to Scotland, by defending her against the English, her *ancient and inveterate enemies*, and especially for the assistance which she had received from King Henry II., who had maintained her independence at his own expense during the minority of her Queen. "The second act seemed framed merely to meet the case of the non-execution of the first, in which she also conveyed to him any claims which might accrue to her upon England and Ireland. The usufruct of the kingdom of Scotland was granted to the King of France, until he should have been repaid the sums which he had expended in her defence. Estimating these sums at a million of pieces of eight, which Scotland, in her existing state of poverty, could not restore, Mary Stuart ordained that the King of France should have the enjoyment of her kingdom until they were en-

tirely liquidated. With the consent of her uncles, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose opinion she had consulted on the matter, she thus placed Scotland in pledge for debts which Scotland had never accepted."

April 19th, the youthful Queen entered into the most solemn engagements with the commissioners, directly in opposition to her private pledges.

"The eldest son sprung of this marriage was to be King of France, and, if daughters only were born, the eldest of them was to become Queen of Scotland, to receive four hundred thousand crowns as a daughter of France, and not to marry without the consent of both the estates of Scotland and the King of France; the Dauphin was to assume the title and arms of King of Scotland, and if he died after his accession to the throne of France, the Queen, his widow, was to receive a jointure of six hundred thousand livres."

Without the prospect of ultimate benefit to Henry, the conflicting articles of agreement were a sad lesson for Mary in the art of royal treachery. The glow of virtuous feeling must lose intensity by such contact and yielding, and the lovely instrument of ambitious princes did not escape the inevitable result. This was the day of her *betrothment,* and in conformity with custom, it was performed in the great hall of the Louvre; the scene was private, and closed with a brilliant ball. Paris was now alive with preparation for the public celebration of the nuptials.

The workmen were busy with the church of Notre Dame, erecting a covered gallery to connect with the Episcopal palace of the Bishop, affording to the spec-

tators through its long vista a view of the royal procession when it entered. It was lined with purple velvet, and embossed with rich and elaborate ornaments, and opened at the cathedral into an amphitheater of grand outline and finished proportions. The Sabbath dawned, and the throngs of excited people were hastening towards the ample area, to witness the dazzling pageant, which was called in honor of the event celebrated, the Triumph. A royal canopy, strown with the *fleurs de lis*, which were symbols of reverence and marriage, hung over the entrance of Notre Dame, around which stood the papal legate, archbishops and prelates, in their sacerdotal robes. Military bands, with the music of Swiss melodies, joined the imposing group of prelatical magnates.

After these came the Duke of Guise, as grand master of the King's household, who, having with his accustomed dignity, saluted the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Eustathius du Bellay, and the princes of the blood, turned towards the assembled crowd, and perceiving that they were impeded in their view, waved his hand, and signified to the grandees that they should retire, for the accommodation of the lower orders, whilst he himself marshaled the procession, which was heralded by music. The performers wore an uniform of yellow and red; but endless was the variety of their harmonious strains, in which the trumpet and the lute, the bass-viol and the flageolet, the violin and hautboy, all intermingled in harmonious concert: immediately after followed the two hundred gentlemen attached to the King's person; next, the princes of the blood, with their immediate attendants; bishops and abbots, before whom were

borne their crosiers and mitres, the ensigns of their dignity; a cluster of high-capped cardinals, among whom were conspicuous John of Bourbon, Charles of Lorraine, and John of Guise; lastly, came the Pope's legate, before whom was borne a cross of massive gold; after these marched the Dauphin Francis, conducted by the King of Navarre. Although his feeble and ill-proportioned figure was plainly contrasted with the tall martial form of Anthony of Bourbon, the impression was somewhat relieved by the presence of his two younger brothers, the Dukes of Orleans and Angoulême. Far different was the sensation created by the appearance of his fair bride, affectionately supported by her father-in-law, the King of France and who was also attended by her youthful kinsman, the Duke of Lorraine: though she had not completed her sixteenth year, her stature rose considerably above the female standard; but so perfect was the symmetry of her form, and so graceful were her movements, that even this lofty height but gave to her person an air of mingled dignity and elegance, that added to her attractions. On this day, Brantome describes her, as "more beautiful and charming than a celestial goddess; for as every eye dwelt with rapture on her face, every voice echoed her praise; whilst, universally, in the court and city it was re-echoed, happy, thrice happy, the prince who should call her his, even though she should have had neither crown nor sceptre to bestow!" Unlike Brantome, the frigid chronicler, instead of expatiating on Mary's charms, descants with much energy on her superb attire: "The robe, white as the lily with which it was embroidered, but so prodigally rich and

gorgeous, glittering with diamonds and silver, as to be *too dazzling* for words to describe." Her sweeping train was borne by two young girls, whom grace and beauty fitted for the office; her neck was encircled with a diamond carcanet, from which was suspended a ring of inestimable value; on her head she wore a golden coronet, encircled with precious stones, in which the diamond, the ruby, and the emerald contended for magnificence, and in the centre of the coronet shone a carbuncle valued at five hundred crowns. Although it was impossible but that such habiliments should have attracted the vulgar eye, we may be permitted to suspect, that they rather disguised than embellished a youthful beauty; nor is it an equivocal proof of Mary's superior grace, that under all this pomp and state, she preserved her accustomed elegance and unembarrassed movements. Behind the young Queen (not without secret envy) walked Catherine de Medicis, with the Prince de Condé; after whom followed, in due gradation, Madame Marguerite, the Queen of Navarre, and an almost interminable train of ladies.

When the procession had reached the great door of the church, the King drew from his finger a ring, which he gave to the Archbishop of Rouen, who, having placed it on the young Queen's finger, pronounced the nuptial benediction. Mutual congratulations followed, and Mary gracefully saluted her husband by the title of King of Scots. The Scottish deputies, whom the chronicler does not once deign to mention, followed her example; after which, the Archbishop of Paris delivered a suitable discourse, which probably, received little attention. In the

mean time, the Duke of Guise had succeeded in his efforts to induce the nobles to open a vista to the people, who stood clustering in the streets, at the windows, on turrets, and scaffoldings, to catch a glimpse of the imposing spectacle; but not even his vigilance and activity were adequate to the task of preserving order and decorum among the motley crowd; and when, according to custom, the heralds, having proclaimed largess, in the name of the King and Queen of Scots, began to shower money on the people: "Then," says the chronicler, "you might have witnessed *the tumult and confusion* of the multitude; some, in their avidity, precipitating themselves on their companions, others fainting, whilst many were stript of hats, cloaks, or even skirts; so terrible was the conflict, that at length even the populace, in dismay unutterable, implored the heralds to desist from throwing among them the golden bait of discord."

The bridal procession advanced to the choir, or main space of the edifice, under the royal canopy, and celebrated mass. This was followed by a costly collation in the bishop's palace, and then a ball. At five o'clock in the evening the royal train returned to their palace. The two Queens of France sat together in a litter escorted by cardinals; Henry and Francis rode on horseback, and after them on richly caparisoned steeds came the ladies of princely rank. The Duke of Guise presided over the ceremonies of the evening entertainment. The King's band of a hundred men poured through the ample apartment strains of ravishing music. While the guests were becoming animated with the prospective pleasures, twelve arti-

ficial horses, mantled in golden cloth, entered with the motion of life, and bestrode by sons of the nobility. Next came a company of pilgrims, each reciting a poem; then were ushered into the hall six diminutive galleys, "covered like Cleopatra's barge, with cloth of gold and crimson velvet; so skillfully contrived as to appear to glide through the waves, sometimes rolling, sometimes tacking, then veering, as if agitated by a sudden swell of the tide till the delicate silken sails were cracked asunder." Upon the deck of each sat a cavalier, who, while the miniature navy moved along, in turn sprang to land, and seized a fair lady, bearing her to a vacant chair ready for her reception. After these splendid panoramic scenes there was a grand tournament, in which Francis, from physical debility, was forbidden to break a lance. For fifteen days this extravagant and resplendent festivity continued.

To the parliament of this nation, the commissioners returned, believing their instructions faithfully fulfilled; and December following the marriage of Mary, their mission and its results were ratified by that body, and the matrimonial crown was bestowed upon Francis. It was also ordered that future acts be published in the name of "Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Vienne."

The youthful sovereigns retired to a country residence near Paris, while the highlands of Scotland echoed back the shouts, and shone with the illuminations of popular rejoicing, as the tidings of the marriage spread. But these soon died away before the

practical developments that succeeded the surface excitement of a kingdom.

The Queen Dowager having secured her object, began to show without disguise her French affinities, in official appointments and treating carelessly those whose influence she had before feared. This palpable change in the exercise of her sovereignty, gave a decisive blow to the supremacy of foreign views; it broke the spell of quiet control which had stolen over the people from the court of France. Another cause of threatening disquietude was the conflict of Calvinism with prelacy. The Queen of Navarre, and other distinguished subjects of Henry, warmly espoused the cause of reform, sustained as it was by intellect, intelligence, and purity of both worship and life. In Scotland, the Earl of Arran sympathised with the reformers. Just as this crisis was reached, Mary Tudor of England died, and the Protestant Elizabeth ascended the throne, restoring immediately, on the second downfall of popery, the faith of her father, Henry VIII., and of her brother, Edward VI. As soon as this new order of things was established, introduced November, 1558, Mary Stuart's relation to England assumed an aspect widely different from that occupied before, and modified essentially the condition of factions in her native realm. Elizabeth was declared by the French court, in accordance with the Catholic sentiment, illegitimate; and Mary, as a direct descendant of Henry VII., through Margaret Tudor, was deemed heir to the crown. The King of France, with a strange infatuation, ordered the arms of England to be quartered on the regal escutcheon with those of Scotland, proclaiming by the act, the

assumed right and the aspiration to the sceptre of England, in behalf of the Dauphin and Dauphiness. These disclosures naturally aroused the fiery spirit of the English Queen, who saw in Mary her rival to royalty and glory. Under the bloody reign of her sister, she had lived in comparative seclusion, dissembling the religious faith and strong feelings, which were cherished like subterranean fires, beneath an exterior haughtily calm, and delusively smiling. Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassador, describes her person, accomplishments, and hints at her character, in his records of the times, when Elizabeth was twenty-three years of age:

"She is no less remarkable in body than in mind, although her features are rather agreeable than beautiful. She is tall in person and well-made; her complexion is brilliant though rather dark. She has fine eyes; but above all, a splendid hand, which she is very fond of showing. She possesses great tact and ability, as she has abundantly proved by the wise way in which she has conducted herself in the midst of the suspicions of which she was the object, and of the perils which surrounded her. She surpasses the Queen, her sister, in her knowledge of languages. Besides English, Spanish, French, Italian, and Latin, which she knows as well as her sister, she has no slight acquaintance with Greek. She is haughty and high-spirited. Although born of a mother beheaded for adultery, she esteems herself no less highly than the Queen, her sister, and considers herself equally legitimate. It is said that she is very much like the King, her father, to whom she was always very dear on that account, and who had her as well educated as the

Queen, and made an equal provision for them both in his will."

Elizabeth was clearly Mary Stuart's superior in vigorous intellect, masculine judgment, and general force of character; while she was her equal, if not in beauty, in mental culture and the fascination of a lively imagination. Though less gentle and winning than her rival, she was endowed with the qualities of a great and successful Queen. Surrounding herself with a cabinet of strong minds and devoted hearts, she swayed them and her subjects with a will which disdained counsel, only as an expression of views which might strengthen, without controlling her own unbiased decisions. She declared this independence with self-glorying, when she said, "that she would let the world know that there was in England a woman who acted like a man, and who was awed neither by a constable of Montmorency, like the King of France, nor by a bishop of Anas, like the King of Spain." The reformers and restive parties of Scotland found a friend in the English sovereign, and these events ripened the royal collision; when changes in France gave a new form and interest to the struggle for dominion.

The 26th of June, 1559, was appointed for the espousals of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Henry, to Philip of Spain. The order of arrangements resembled that of Mary's marriage. The princess passed the night of the 24th in the bishop's palace, and was led to the altar of Notre Dame through a covered gallery, attended with the lavish display of royal treasures, which never failed, whether the poor and toiling masses were fed, or whether they were

lifting their piteous cry for bread. The bride appeared in robes of golden texture, studded with diamonds, her brow resplendent with a crown of jewels, beneath which beamed her dark and expressive eyes, while the flush of excitement betrayed a sensitive nature, oppressed with the burden of queenly honors. This gorgeous scene was succeeded by banquets and balls, with the usual pageant of a grand tournament.

The Place Antoine was selected for the field of contest.

An ample theatre was erected for the spectators, and crowded with noble and anxious beholders. Never before was gathered to such an entertainment so great an assemblage of foreign princes, ambassadors, and generals. The national costumes and the insignia of rank bewildered the eye. That vain glory which had emblazoned on the heraldic scroll Mary's claim to the sceptre of England, displayed the device on the Dauphin's banners, carried by his band, who opened the jousts. The British ambassadors frowned, and the attendants of the fair Stuart exclaimed, as she was borne to her royal balcony, "Place, place for the Queen of England!" There can be no apology for this insult to Elizabeth of England, which foreshadowed future sorrow.

The next day King Henry entered the lists. His fine figure and stately bearing were well set off by his black and white costume; and near him rode the Duke of Guise, who, in honor of a remembered beauty, wore a crimson livery. The monarch won victories, and was applauded by the excited multitude. The third day of the tournament, he was riding with a heart animated and proud with success,

over the plain strown with the tokens of conflict, when he discovered two unbroken lances. Seizing one of them, he challenged Count Montgommeri to wield the other. The count hesitated, and the King's family sent messages of expostulation, as if a dread presentiment of evil had clouded their joy. But flushed and ardent, he ordered Montgommeri to wheel for combat. The signal was given, and amidst the wild acclamations of the people, the brave steeds bore their riders toward the decisive encounter. Henry's martial air was never more kingly as he dashed toward the graceful Montgommeri. The lances met, and Henry reeled in his saddle, while a hush, then cries of alarm, followed the tragical close of popular rejoicings. A splinter of the count's lance had pierced the visor, and when the helmet was lifted, large red drops oozed from his death-wound. He exonerated his victor from blame, and after suffering eleven days, died July 10th, 1559.

Pasquier, in his annals of those times, gives the impression made on the public mind by this fatal combat. He alludes to the alliance and treaty with Philip of Spain, and the persecution of Protestants, which followed a union of the Catholic monarchs, secured by the interference of a Jesuitical monk. Pasquier will not allow what strikes the serious student of history as altogether probable, that Henry's fate was a rebuke from Heaven, of his vaunting ambition.

"This deplorable catastrophe has given rise to various sinister reflections; and there are some who fancy they discover in it the visible retribution of Providence, since, if we may credit the assertions of Car-

dinal Lorraine, the King had hurried the peace purposely, that he might be at leisure to extirpate by force, the heresy of Calvin. With this view, he suddenly presented himself to the parliament, on the 10th of June, to collect the various opinions of the members, of whom the majority recommended the suspension of penal laws, and the convocation of a general council. In the course of these deliberations, the King, having heard certain sentiments, with which he was justly offended, ordered several of the orators to be taken into custody. They were instantly conveyed to the Bastile, whence, according to certain sinister interpreters, the evil has lighted upon him by the special will of God, for having interrupted men in the exercise of their official duties. It is also observed that, as it was on the 10th of June that he consigned the counselors to the Bastile, so it was on the 10th of July that he received the stroke of death; thus reason the misjudging multitude, who speak from passion rather than reason. But it is a singular fact that he should have commenced his reign on the 10th of June, with the combat of Jarnac and la Chataigneraie; and that, on the 10th of July, it was terminated in consequence of his combat with Montgommeri. . . . . .

"His corpse lies in state in the very hall which he had erected for the celebration of the nuptial festivities. The constable, in disgrace, watches the corpse; the Guises are omnipotent, the young King having espoused their niece; the queen-mother is greatly commiserated; and consternation universally prevails with the people."

During the last moments of Henry, amid the la-

mentations and tears of relatives, according to Mary's desire, Cardinal Lorraine and Duke of Guise were selected as the future ministers of the Dauphin. To complete the arrangements for a permanent harmony with foreign sovereigns, Margaret, the younger sister of Francis, was privately married to the Duke of Savoy, in the light of torches, with an *epithalamium* of convulsive sobs, and the almost audible gasping of the dying monarch. Francis was confined to his couch in the palace of Tournelles, when the officers of state entered his apartment, and announced his father's death, on the bended knee of loyalty, by saluting him King. As if an unearthly voice had sent the health-thrill along his nerves, he sprang from his bed, and declared he was well. Such is the mastery of ambition; it gives to boyhood the front of a heartless trifler with human affection and the soul's departure to eternal scenes, and like the eagle whose eye confronts the sun, it gazes restlessly though vainly upon the veiled splendor of the "White Throne." Scarcely had Francis conferred with his counselors, before his mother joined them, to accompany him to the Louvre, where would be offered the usual congratulations and homage, upon the transfer of a crown to the brow of a successor. Mary silently followed in the train, when Catherine, who saw the declining glory of her family, in the elevation of the Guises, said to her, "Pass on, madam; it is now for you to take precedence." The young Queen acknowledged the civility, but on reaching the chariot, refused to enter, until the desponding and ambitious widow passed in before her. The Dauphin was crowned at Rheims, where that ceremony had been

performed on many previous kings of France, and immediately assumed the reins of government.

In the meantime, the revolution in Scotland, remotely kindled by the revolution tones of Luther's voice, and, favored by the brave martyr, Wishart, and the fearless Knox, had gone forward among the people. Lord James Stuart, the Queen's brother, Lord John Erskine, and Lord Lorn, had joined the standard of the bold reformer, with other influential barons, and formed themselves into religious congregations. Wherever Knox was summoned by the offended priesthood, he scattered the live coals of truth upon the popular mind. At length, emboldened and encouraged by success, he appealed to the regent, Mary of Lorraine, for royal sanction to the new doctrines. She met his demand with scorn, and assured him it was time to interpose a barrier to the waves of revolution, dangerous both to church and state. Knox was obliged to fly from the wrathful enemy to his retreat—Geneva, the home of Calvin. Soon after followed the solemn *Covenant* proposed by the exiled reformer, which was a mutual pledge by the Protestants to openly expose the corruptions of Rome, and worship God according to their own conscience. They farther formed an insurrectionary government, called the *Lords of the Congregation,* which prepared the way for bloody collision with the state.

The regent, elated with prosperity in her favorite plans, became more intolerant, until she virtually declared civil war, by affirming the decisions of the bishops against heretics, and declaring her purpose to restore, on the overthrow of the reformers, the universal sway of the Catholic church. Some of the

fiercest battles of the Covenanters were fought about the time Henry of France received the fatal lance of Montgommeri. An armistice, extending to July 24th, 1560, followed.

This interlude was employed by the regent in sending a requisition to her daughter for French troops, who were inactive, because of the peace of Cateau-Cambresis,* while Knox proceeded to Berwick, to negotiate with the English governor for ships and soldiers, with which the Protestant cause might be sustained against foreign foes. Elizabeth's sympathies and jealousy of Mary inclined her to comply with his request; but she disliked both the term champion, who had written against female sovereignty in the state, and the Presbyterian form of the revolution. She first sent them three thousand pounds sterling, and after the Lords of the Congregation in public assembly passed a resolution, deposing the queen-regent, she agreed to furnish men and munitions of war, on condition of reciprocity in case the French turned their arms against the Queen of England. The revolutionary party preserved the appearance of loyalty to their sovereign, by making the treaty in her name, with the promise of obedience to her commands in all things that did not tend to molest the ancient laws and liberties of the land. Elizabeth replied to the charge of intervention in the affairs of Scotland, in the following strain, denying that the nobility of that realm were rebels:

* This treaty, signed April 2–3, 1559, contained a secret article by which Henry II. of France and Granvella, acting in the Netherlands for Philip II. of Spain, formed an alliance for the purpose of exterminating "heresy," that is, Protestantism.

"And truly, if these barons should permit the government of their kingdom to be wrested out of their hands during the absence of their Queen; if they tamely gave up the independence of their native country, whilst she used the counsel, not of the Scots, but solely of the French, her mother and other foreigners being her advisers in Scotland, and the Cardinal and Duke of Guise in France, it were a good cause for the world to speak shame of them; nay, if the young Queen herself should happen to survive her husband, she would in such a case have just occasion to condemn them all as cowards and unnatural subjects."

During the long and remarkable siege of Leith, which followed these events, Mary of Lorraine, exhausted with anxiety and care, was taken sick, and conveyed to Edinburgh castle. She was soon aware of approaching dissolution, and asked an interview with the leaders of the Protestant party. The meeting was kind and affecting. She recounted the troubles of her kingdom, whose burden had hastened her death, and advised the removal of all foreign troops, and an adherence to that alliance which would best preserve their national independence. Then embracing them with a dying kiss, she died amid their tears, June 10th, 1560. She had intellect and *heart;* but, led by ambition, and ruled by French advisers, she embittered her widowhood, involved her enthroned daughter in mournful calamities, and breathed her last, encircled with foes instead of family friends, whom she left in her native clime, for the empty honors of a brief regency. A treaty of peace sealed after her decease, contained the following articles:

"The French troops were to evacuate Scotland; the fortifications of Leith to be demolished; the sovereigns of France cease to bear the arms and title of King and Queen of England; the Duke of Châtelhérault and other Scottish nobles who possessed property in France, to have restored to them the lands and titles of which they had been deprived since their rebellion; the high offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, and Comptroller to be conferred not upon ecclesiastics but upon laymen; and the guardianship as well as the administration of the kingdom never to be again entrusted to foreign soldiers and dignitaries. The conduct of affairs was to be confided to a council of twelve members, seven of whom were to be nominated by the Queen, and five by the estates of the realm; and this council was instructed to introduce a better system into the government of the country. It was also agreed that a free Parliament should assemble in the month of August."

English influence and the reformers were now fairly in the ascendant.

Meanwhile the health of Francis II., which had always been frail, rapidly failed. The Guises were busy with plans for the extermination of Protestantism in France, which, with other ambitions and lawless schemes, sowed the seeds of a terrible harvest for unhappy France. The young King was no more than the toy of their fancy. One day suddenly fainting, he was borne to his chamber to die. Mary watched by his bedside faithfully, whose kindness he appreciated with child-like gratitude, and for whom he desired of Catherine, his mother, maternal interest. He expired December 5th, 1560, separating in his

death the crowns of Scotland and France, and suspending the almost imperial power of the Princes of Lorraine. However truly Mary may have mourned the loss of Francis as *a husband*, in a political view the union had been of disastrous omen to her future prospects. It had given energy and triumph to the Reformation, made the French odious, and shorn the regal authority of its strength and majesty to the Scotch nation. Mary saw the extent of her bereavement—left an orphan and widow at eighteen, and compelled to abandon a throne, for the regency of Catherine de Medicis, whose aspirations for power were so revived by the Stuart's affliction, that she seemed cheerfully to sacrifice an inefficient son. The Queen, sadly beautiful in her grief, retired to seclusion in the palace, whose solitude for several weeks was broken only by the presence of immediate relatives. The device which she invented for a mourning seal was a liquorice tree, whose root only is valuable; beneath it was "Dulce meum terra tegit"—*My treasure is in the ground.* The following letter was written in answer to messages of condolence from Philip; and in its brevity exhibits a refined sense of propriety, while its sentiment is altogether womanly and touching:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING PHILIP II.

"To the King of Spain.

"Monsieur my good Brother—I was unwilling to omit this opportunity of writing to you, to thank you for the polite letters you sent me by Signor Don Antonio, and for the civil things which he and your am-

bassador said to me concerning the sorrow you felt for the death of the late King, my lord, assuring you, monsieur my good brother, that you have lost in him the best brother you ever had, and that you have comforted by your letters the most afflicted, poor woman under heaven, God having bereft me of all that I loved and held dear on earth, and left me no other consolation whatever but when I see those who deplore his loss and my too great misfortune. God will assist me, if he pleases, to bear what comes from him with patience; as I confess that, without his aid, I should find so great a calamity too insupportable for my strength and my little virtue. But, knowing that it is not reasonable you should be annoyed by my letters, which can only be filled with this melancholy subject, I will conclude, after beseeching you to be a good brother to me in my affliction, and to continue me in your favor, to which I affectionately commend myself, praying God to give you, monsieur my good brother, as much happiness as I wish you.

"Your very good sister and cousin,

"MARY."

Elizabeth of England sent the Earl of Bedford to convey her condolence to her mourning rival. After this duty was performed, he urged the Queen, as Throckmorton, the English ambassador, had before vainly done, to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. It is not singular that she continued to refuse, while her aspirings towards a foreign throne were cherished by the controlling minds of the house of Lorraine. She expressed the desire to have a personal interview with Elizabeth, and requested her portrait; and thus ter-

minated the two-fold mission of the earl. The Spanish ambassador was among the first foreign officials admitted to the presence of Mary, and Catherine saw in the incident the foreshadowing of an offer of marriage to Don Carlos, son of Philip II.

The sovereigns of Sweden and Denmark also aspired to a similar honor. The regent of France, from suspicion of an alliance unfavorable to her augmenting power, or prompted by a cherished antipathy to Mary, intimated to the duke and cardinal her wish to have the attractive young Queen more remote from the arena of her own ambitious designs. The duke therefore, who was a man of high spirit and no principle, persuaded his niece to depart for Rheims, where her mother's form was buried. Thence she was to visit her grandmother, Duchess of Guise, at Joinville, who still lived in dismal solitude; and, soon after as possible, embark for Scotland. Mary loved the sunny clime of France. It had been the home of her childhood, and her dead were there. Her sensitive nature recoiled from the cold air and sterner manners of her native land. At this crisis a letter was written from the "Laird of Lethington" to Sir William Cecil, that gives a comprehensive view of the attitude of factions in Scotland, and from which a passage is quoted, disclosing the public feeling in view of Mary's expected advent:

"Sir: That thus long I have delayed to write unto your honor, I pray, impute it only to my absence. I have been these forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my Lord James, where we have not been altogether unoccupied; but so far as occasion would

serve, advancing the religion and common cause. Since our returning, I have understood the stay of Monsieur d'Oysel, and judge that you have wisely foreseen the inconveniences that might have followed upon his coming hither. I do also allow your opinion anent the Queen our sovereign's journey towards Scotland; whose coming hither, if she be enemy to the religion, and so affected towards that realm, as she yet appeareth, shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies. Although the religion here hath in *outward appearance* the upper hand, and *few or none there be that openly dare profess the contrary, yet know we the hollow hearts of a great number, who would be glad to see it and us overthrown; and if time served, would join with her authority to that effect:* but I foresee, that the difficulty thereof shall make that which is most principal in intention be last in execution. Sure I am, the suppressing of religion is chiefly meant, but the same must be pressed but by indirect means. First of all, the comfort which we have of the Queen's majesty's * friendship must be cut off by dissolution of the intelligence begun of late; which being not feasible in her absence, her own presence will make more easy. The Papists, you know, be in their hearts, for religion's sake, altogether enemies of this conjunction. Those that gave themselves forth for Protestants be not all alike earnestly bent to maintain it. Some have been accustomed so to feed upon the French fare, that their delicate stomachs cannot well digest any other. Some

* Elizabeth.—a correspondence with whose ministers had commenced during the commotions in Scotland, and was regularly continued till her death.

be so covetous, that wheresoever the lure of commodity is showed unto them, thither will they fly. Some so inconstant, that they may be easily carried away by the countenance of their princess' presence, sometimes showing them a good visage, and sometimes, as occasion shall require, frowning on them. Others there be so careless and ignorant, that they will rather respect their present ease, which shall bring after it most grievous calamities, than with the hazard of a little present incommodity put them and theirs in full security afterwards: these to be a great number, in our late danger, we had large experience; yet I doubt not but the best sort will constantly and stoutly bear out that which they have begun. Marry, what difficulty and hazard shall be in it, you may judge, when the Queen shall so easily win to her party the whole Papists, and so many Protestants as be either addicted to the French faction,* covetous, inconsistent, uneasy, ignorant, or careless. So long as her highness is absent, in this case, there is no peril; but you may judge what the presence of a prince, being craftily counseled, is able to bring to pass. Every man once in a year hath to do with his prince's benevolence; if at that time, when his particular business occurreth, her countenance shall be but strange to him in sight of the peril, in what case shall the subject then be? Every man hath in his private causes some enemy or unfriend: what boldness shall they not take, seeing an advantage, and knowing their adversary to be out of the prince's good grace? She will not be served with those that bear any good-will to England. Some quarrel shall be picked to them, not directly for

* The French and English factions still distracted Scotland.

religion at the first; but where the accusation of heresy would be odious, men must be charged with treason. The like of this in that realm, I think, hath been seen in Queen Mary's days; a few numbers thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey, and then may the butchery of Bonner plainly begin. I make not this discourse as our meaning to debar her majesty from her kingdom, or that we would wish she should never come home (for that were the part of an unnatural subject,) but rather desiring such things as be *necessary so to be provided for in the meantime,* that neither she, by following the wicked advice of God's enemies, to lose the hearts of her subjects, neither yet so many as tender the glory of God and liberties of their native country, to be the sons of death. The best is, that intelligence begun betwixt these two kingdoms may endure and be increased, the breach whereof I know will be attempted by all means possible.

"The great desire I have of the continuance, maketh me so earnest to wish that her majesty may be induced by good means to enter in the same conjunction; whereunto if she cannot by one way or other be persuaded, then can I not but doubt of the success in the end. Although I do chiefly respect the common cause and public estate, yet doth my own private not a little move me to be careful in this behalf. In what case I stand, you will easily judge by sight of the enclosed, which I pray you, return to me with speed. I know by my very friends in France, that she hath conceived such an opinion of my affection towards England, that it killeth all the means I can have to enter in any favor.

"But if it might be compassed that the Queen's majesty and her highness might be as dear friends as they be tender cousins, then were I able enough to have as good part in her good grace, as any other of my quality in Scotland. If this cannot be brought to pass, then I see well, at length, it will be hard for me to dwell in Rome, and strive with the Pope. I assure you this whole realm is in a miserable case. If the Queen, or sovereign, come shortly home, the dangers be evident and many; and if she shall not come, it is not without great peril; yea, what is not to be feared in a realm lacking lawful government? It is now more than two years past that we have lived in a manner without any regiment; which, when I consider sometimes with myself, I marvel from whence doth proceed the quietness which we presently enjoy, the like whereof, I think, all circumstances being weighed, was never seen in any realm. It would seem impossible that any people could so long be contained in order, without fear of punishment and strict execution of the laws; and, indeed, I cannot by searching, find out any probable reason, but only that it has pleased the goodness of God to give this glory to his truth preached among us; but by all worldly judgment, the policy cannot thus long endure; so that for this respect her absence to us is most pernicious. Thus, whether she come or not, we be in a great strait."

The Catholic party, at a secret meeting, commissioned John Lesley, of Aberdeen, to assure the Queen of their unabated devotion to her majesty. He intercepted her at Vitry in Champagne, *en route* from

Rheims, where she had passed a part of the winter, to Joinville. Lesley proposed an immediate return to Scotland; that she should detain her Protestant brother in France, who had been dispatched by the revolutionary Parliament, until after her return to her realm; and to sail to Aberdeen, when a force of two thousand men would escort her to her throne. Mary wisely rejected the propositions of an unreliable faction, and sought for measures of more general and popular character. She had sent four commissioners to convey expressions of affection to her people, and promises of conciliation upon her speedy return. Parliament responded by dispatching Lord James, whose rank and growing influence with the reformers, and strength of character, fitted him for the delicate mission. He met Mary the day after the interview with Lesley. By all his pleas in behalf of the congregation, and the treaty of Edinburgh, she was unshaken in her determination to maintain the Catholic faith, and dissolve the union between her kingdom and England. She attempted, by the offer of a cardinal's hat, and other royal gifts, to win Lord James to her views. But, steadfast in his convictions, he secured by his decision, however distasteful in itself to the Queen, her greater confidence—a result always certain in the trial of *principle*. Mary continued her journey to Nancy, into which she made a public entry. Here her noble relatives honored their guest with a succession of splendid entertainments, and the excitements of the chase, and all the dazzling variety of invented pleasures. Wearied with this gayety, and frail in health, she hastened to the fine climate and solemn entertainments of Join-

ville. She found the venerable duchess veiled in crape, the presiding spectre of her sepulchral mansion. The spring had vanished, and glorious June had tinged with reviving breath her pallid cheeks. Her dark tresses fell to her mourning apparel, which was snowy white, in graceful lines; her beaming eyes were full of soul and gentleness; and her subdued tones had an indescribable eloquence, that charmed to silent admiration those who came in her presence. She was admired by prince and peasant, and the throngs gazed at her when she appeared in public, as if a celestial visitant were passing. This strange beauty and Mary's romantic experience already cast into eclipse her faults of character.

From Joinville she revisited Rheims, and after a brief stay proceeded to Paris. Her entry into the capital was not attended with a tumultuous throng, but with peculiar appropriateness. She was escorted by the princes of the royal line, and a company of cavaliers, who appeared like a select train of devotees around their serene and unrivaled goddess. While in the brilliant centre of Parisian pleasures, Protestant influences not unfrequently reached her. During an interview with Throckmorton, she freely declared her unyielding adherence to Rome:

"To be plain with you, the religion which I profess I take to be the most acceptable to God; and, indeed, neither do I know, or desire to know, any other. Constancy becometh all people well, and none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and especially in matters of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me

in anything, if I should show myself light in this cause? And though I be young, and not well learned, yet have I heard this matter oft disputed by mine uncle, my lord cardinal, and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion.

"I am none of those that will change my religion every year; and, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and, I trust, they should have no support to constrain me."

The struggle in Mary's heart between ambition, stimulated by the Guises, and attachment to the genial air and early friends of France, was intense; but it turned in favor of a perilous voyage and a more *perilous throne*. She prepared "to go and reign in her wild country." D'Oysel was commissioned to be her herald, and requested from Elizabeth a safe conduct through her kingdom. The stern sovereign of the world's most mighty realm in the great elements of power promptly refused the permission until Mary had signed the treaty of Edinburgh. This repulse touched keenly the sensibility of the Queen of Scots. She thus gave expression to her emotions in a private conference with the English ambassador:

"There is nothing that doth more grieve me than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen your mistress, that favor which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for, though the late king, your

master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me, and catch me, when I came hither, yet know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely; and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends.* Truly, I was far from evil-meaning to the Queen, your mistress, at this time to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have; and yet, you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ both their forces and aid. You have often told me, that the amity between the Queen, your mistress, and me, were very necessary and profitable to us both. I have some reason, now, to think that the Queen, your mistress, is not of that mind; for, I am sure, if she were, she would not have received me thus unkindly. It seems she makes more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nearest kinswoman, and her next neighbor. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young, and do lack experience. But I have age enough and experience to behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly, and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a queen and my next kinswoman."

The next day, July 21st, she addressed Throckmorton, in the following very beautiful words, which reveal her sad forebodings of evil:

* Cabala.

"I trust the wind will be so favorable as I shall not need to come on the coast of England, and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the Queen your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure that casualty might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."

Catherine's proud spirit was softened by the approaching separation, and she accompanied Mary to St. Germain, where, thirteen years before, she first saw and embraced the laughing girl, who now left her a widow, mature in character, and drinking deeply of sorrow's cup. From St. Germain, the princes of Lorraine, with a retinue of the nobility, made the journey to Calais, a triumphal procession in appearance, while many hearts were painfully throbbing; and none more wildly beating than that of the sad and silent Mary. After six days' delay, she saw the two galleys and two vessels of burden, riding at anchor, ready for the royal train. Amid a throng of excited spectators, the youthful Queen folded her graceful arms around cherished forms, and shed tears like rain, in that mournful adieu. The four Marys were with her. From infancy she had cherished the strange, superstitious fancies of the age. Writes Brantome of the departing attendants: "Habitually superstitious, in embarking for the royal galley, Mary was appalled by the mournful spectacle of a vessel striking against the pier, and sinking to rise no more; overwhelmed with the sight the unhappy queen exclaimed, 'O God! what fatal omen is this for a voy-

age!' then rushing towards the stern, she knelt down, and, covering her face, sobbed aloud, 'Farewell! France, farewell! I shall never, never see thee more!' . . . . . .

"The galley having left port, and a slight breeze having sprung up, we began to set sail. . . . She, with both arms resting on the poop of the galley near the helm, began to shed floods of tears, continually casting her beautiful eyes towards the port and the country she had left, and uttering these mournful words: Farewell, France! until night began to fall. She desired to go to bed without taking any food, and would not go down into her cabin, so her bed was prepared on the deck. She commanded the steersman, as soon as it was day, if he could still discern the coast of France, to wake her and not fear to call her; in which fortune favored her; for, the wind having ceased, and recourse being had to the oars, very little progress was had during the night; so that when day appeared, the coast of France was still visible, and the steersman not having failed to perform the commands which she had given to him, she sat up in her bed, and began again to look at France as long as she could, and then she redoubled her lamentations: Farewell, France! Farewell, France! I think I shall never see thee more!"

Such was the anguish of the mourning exile, in whom, on this touching occasion, the *woman* eclipsed the queen, and won admiration which was never rendered to the severer virtues of Elizabeth. Mary was gifted with poetical genius, and commemorated this

rending of ties and beginning of sorrows, in a beautiful poem.*

* ADIEU.

Adieu, plaisant pays de France!
O ma patrie,
La plus cherie;
Qui a nourri ma jeune enfance.
Adieu, France! adieu, mes beaux jours!
La nef qui dejoint mes amours,
N'a cy de moi que la moitie
Une parte te reste; elle est tienne;
Je la fie a ton amitie,
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne.

"ADIEU.

"Farewell to thee, thou pleasant shore,
The loved, the cherished home to me
Of infant joy, a dream that's o'er,
Farewell, dear France! farewell to thee!

"The sail that wafts me bears away
From thee but half my soul alone;
Its fellow half will fondly stay,
And back to thee has faithful flown.

"I trust it to thy gentle care;
For all that here remains with me
Lives but to think of all that's there,
To love and to remember thee."

CHAPTER III.

When the morning dawned upon the royal galley, and the banks of oars dripped with the flashing waters, Mary's tears flowed afresh at the sight of a shadowy outline of the land she had left forever. She gazed fondly at the fading horizon, while the breeze lifted her dark tresses, and filled the drooping sails. The rowers ceased their measured strokes, the vessel's prow cut the foam, and in an hour, all that remained of France to Mary was a mournfully pleasant dream, and the companions of her voyage. The galley swept past a dangerous shoal, and she remarked upon the peril to which it had been exposed, "that for the sake of her friends, and for the common weal, she ought to rejoice; but that for herself, she should have esteemed it a privilege so to have ended her course."

She had anticipated the appearance of English cruisers, despatched by Elizabeth to intercept her course; but nothing occurred to prevent a prosperous transit to the shores of her unquiet kingdom. On the 19th of August, 1561, the fleet emerging from a heavy fog which had fallen the preceding evening, sooner than was expected by the Queen's subjects, sailed into the harbor of Leith.*

* Leith is the port of Edinburgh, and though the two cities have separate governments, they are in other respects practically one. The route of the procession would be up the Leith

The tidings flew, and the people flocked to behold and welcome their Queen, whose charms made a favorable impression upon those who dreaded her religious influence upon the realm. The nobility hastened to escort her to Edinburgh, and the ancient palace of Holyrood. A palfrey was provided for her, and her train rode upon highland ponies, "such as they were, and harnessed to match." Mary felt keenly the contrast between the pomp and magnificence of the French court, and her humble entrance into the ruder dominions of her inheritance. Tears again dimmed her vision; and she saw in the plain manners, and music of sacred psalmody, characteristic of the reformers, a source of perpetual pain to her natural and religious sensibilities. The surface-dressing in social life and divine worship, which had polished the daughter of Stuart, unfitted her for the stern elements on which she must thenceforth lay her gentle hand.

John Knox, in a graphic description of Mary's reception, discloses his own strong emotions and fearful apprehensions, in view of the reign of a Catholic sovereign.

"The very face of the heavens at the time of her arrival did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her: to wit, sorrow, dolor, darkness, and all impiety; for in the memory of man that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heavens, than was at her arrival,

Walk to the east end of Princess street, thence across the ravine to the castle, and thence down High street and Canongate to Holyrood palace. The entire distance would be about four miles.

which two days after did so continue; for, besides the surface wet, and the corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark that scarce could any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That fore-warning gave God to us—but alas! the most part were blind.

"At the sound of the cannon which the galleys shot, happy was he or she that first must have presence of the Queen. The Protestants were not the slowest, and therein they were not to be blamed. Because the palace of Holyrood-House was not thoroughly put in order, for her coming was more sudden than many looked for, she remained in Leith till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the abbey, met her the rebels and crafts of men of whom we spoke of before, to wit, those that had violated the acts of the magistrates, and had besieged the provost. But because she was sufficiently instructed that all they did was done in spite of their religion, they were easily pardoned. Fires of joy were set forth at night, and a company of most honest men, with instruments of music, and with musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window; the melody, as she alleged, liked her well, and she willed the same to be continued some nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her from all quarters, and so was nothing understood but mirth and quietness, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of August, when that preparation began to be made for that idol, the mass, to be said in the chapel; which perceived, the most of all the godly began to speak openly: 'Shall

that idol be suffered again to take place beneath this realm? It shall not.' The Lord Lindsay (then but master) with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the close or yard, 'The idolatrous priests shall die the death, according to God's law.' One that carried in the candle was evil afraid. But then began flesh and blood to show itself. There durst no Papist, neither yet any that came out of France, whisper, but the Lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel door. His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scottish men to enter into the mass. But it was and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept, that none should have entry to trouble the priest, who, after the mass was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord John of Coldingham and Lord Robert of ———, who then were both Protestants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord; betwixt them both the priest was conveyed to the chamber. . . . And so the godly departed with grief of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain signification that they could not abide that the land which God by his power had purged from idolatry, should in their eyes be polluted again, and so began complaint upon complaint. The old duntebors [ladies of the bedchamber] and others, that had long served in the court, hoped to have no remission of sins but by virtue of the mass, cried, they would away to France without delay—they could not live without the mass; the same affirmed the Queen's uncle; and would to God, that altogether, with the mass, they had taken good night of the realm forever."

Knox, whose "*single voice could put more life* into a host than *six hundred blustering trumpets,*" was a terror to many. In the sublime persuasion that he was commissioned by God to lead the "sacramental host" against the corrupt hierarchy of Rome, he was unapproachable by bribery, unmoved by penalties, and only annealed for combat in the furnace of trial. The blandishments of wealth, the sufferings of penury, and the scoffs of the great, were equally unfelt by him, who had made, as an oblation to the Lord, the entire consecration of his powers to the one object of life—the extermination of Popery in his beloved Scotland. Gifted with a high order of intellect, and courageous, he was animated by ardent enthusiasm, controlled by inflexibility of purpose, and a thorough knowledge of the human heart. He swayed men by his lofty determination, fearless denunciations, and evident sincerity. The faults of such men as Luther, Knox, and Cromwell were those of champions in a mighty conflict, who had not time to polish their weapons, or always regard the amenities and rules of more peaceful life.

"It was as an apostle, or rather as a prophet, that Knox challenged homage. In his own conceptions he was alternately the Elijah rebuking Ahab—the Jeremiah denouncing Israel—the John the Baptist, who could overawe even the presumptuous Herod. Woe to the man who incurred his wrath, or fell under his chastisement! Unhappy they who became the object of his antipathy or suspicion! In this predicament was Mary Stuart! Whatever prejudice he had originally conceived against a daughter of Guise, was confirmed and justified by the administration of her

uncles. Educated under their auspices, imbued with their principles, he regarded her as infected with their cruelty and perfidy—as a Papist, incapable of any moral virtue—as an idolater, worse than an infidel. If she would subdue his prejudice, she must disclaim her superstitions, renounce the mass, forsake the idol—on no other condition could he be persuaded that she was entitled to esteem and confidence."

He regarded the mass the coronation of the "man of sin" upon Puritan soil; and he therefore said, that "one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in every part of the realm." And soon after the first Sabbath of the royal retinue in Holyrood, he thus unbosomed his heart in a letter to Calvin at Geneva:

"The arrival of the Queen has disturbed the tranquillity of our affairs. She had scarcely been back three days, before the idol of the mass was again set up. Some prudent men of great authority endeavored to prevent it, saying that their purified conscience could not suffer that that land should again be contaminated, which the Lord, by the efficacy of his word, had purged from idolatry. But as the major part of those who adhere to our faith thought differently, impiety gained the victory, and is now acquiring fresh strength. Those who favored it give as a reason for their indulgence, that all the ministers of the Lord are of opinion, and that you yourself declare, that it is not lawful for us to prevent the Queen from practising her religion. Although I contradict this rumor, which appears to me very false, it has

taken such deep root in men's hearts, that it will be impossible for me to dislodge it, unless I learn from you whether the question has been actually submitted to your Church, and what was the answer of the brethren. I am always troubling you with such inquiries, but I have no one else into whose bosom I can pour my cares. I confess candidly, my father, that I have never until now felt how painful and difficult it is to combat hypocrisy when concealed under the mask of piety. I have never feared open enemies so greatly, but that, in the midst of my tribulations, I have hoped to gain the victory."

It was no pleasant pastime to confront such a leader of the Protestant party—a party too powerful to crush, and not susceptible to the flatteries or imposing forms of papal worship.

Yet Mary hoped to conciliate her restive subjects by her smiles, and a concession which she thought might reconcile them to her private observance of her own religious forms. She issued a proclamation, that no alteration should be made in the established religion, "and that any act, whether public or private, which tended to change its form, should be punished with death." She also exchanged her apparel of white crape, which had won in France the appellation of "Reine Blanche"—*White Queen*—for the mourning of her people—a sable dress. This attire enhanced her beauty, like the dark back-ground to a picture of celestial penciling.

On the second of September she made her public entry into Edinburgh. Her train issued from the castle in the afternoon, and moved towards "Scotia's

ancient seat," under a canopy of violet velvet, and followed by the nobility. She was greeted with the pageant of a child, six years of age, issuing from a cloud, as if descending from Heaven, who, after repeating a poem, presented her with the keys of Edinburgh, a Bible, and Book of Psalms.

Contrasted with these signals of loyalty, were warnings in various symbols along her way. The fate of Korah, and of Dathan and Abiram, were set forth, with other significant exhibitions of indignation against the rites of idolatrous Rome. After these scenes had transpired, Mary desired to have an interview with Knox, whose presence she was willing to endure for the sake of her kingdom. The following is the account given by the reformer himself, of his visit to the Queen, whom he found alone with her brother, Lord James, and who at the outset reproached him for his work against Female Sovereigns. To this he replied:

"Learned men, in all ages, have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published both with pen and tongue, notwithstanding they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato, the philosopher, wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in the which he condemns many things that were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet, notwithstanding, he lived under such politics as then were universally received, without further troubling any state; even so, madam, am I content to do, in up-

rightness of heart, and with the testimony of a good conscience I have communicated my judgment to the world. If the realm find no inconvenience in the regimen of a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther disallow them within my own breast, but shall be as well content, and shall live under your majesty, as Paul was to live under the Roman Emperor; and my hope is, that so long as you defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I nor that book shall either hurt you or your authority; for in very deed, madam, that book was written most especially against wicked Mary * of England."

"But you speak of women in general?"

"Most true it is, madam; and yet plainly appeareth to me that wisdom should persuade your majesty never to raise trouble for that which this day hath not troubled your majesty, neither in person nor in anxiety. For of late years, many things which before were holden stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned: but yet, madam, I am assured that neither Protestant nor Papist shall be able to prove that any such question was at any time moved in public or in private. Even, madam, if I had intended to trouble your estate, because you are a woman, I might have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I could do now, when your own presence is within the realm."

Knox repelled the charges of sedition and necromancy, which seemed to satisfy the Queen, who yet complained of the seditious influence of his reasoning.

"You have brought the people to receive another

* Bloody Mary.

religion than their princes can allow--and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their prince?"

"Madam, as right religion took neither original nor integrity from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone, so are not subjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetite of their princes. If all the seed of Abraham should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, what religion should there have been in the world? Or if all men in the days of the Roman Emperors should have been of the religion of the Roman Emperors, what religion should have been on the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subject to Nebuchadnezzar and unto Darius, and yet they would not be of their religion."

Mary, in reply, urged that none of the worthies mentioned took arms against the king. Knox continued:

"Yet, madam, ye cannot deny but that they resisted; for those that obey not the commandments given, in some sort resist."

"But yet," reiterated the Queen, "they resisted not by the sword."

"God, madam, had not given them the power and the means."

"Think you that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?"

"If princes do exceed their bounds, madam, or do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, there is no doubt they may be resisted, even by power; for there is neither greater honor nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes than to father or mother; but so it is, that the father may be stricken

with a phrenzy, in the which he will slay his own children; now, madam, if the children arise, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapon from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison till his phrenzy be overpast, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong?"

The mention of *a prison* awakened Mary's fears with so visible effect, that afterwards it was related as evidence of supernatural inspiration in this stern reprover of monarchs.

When Knox alluded to the protection sovereigns might give to the church of Christ, she replied in anger—"Yes, this is indeed true, but yours is not the church that I will nourish. I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it the true church of God." He replied indignantly, that her *will* was not reason, and her opinion could not change that harlot into the immaculate spouse of Christ. He farther offered to prove that the Catholic church was more degenerate and corrupt than the Jewish nation, when they crucified Christ. But Mary closed the exciting debate, and bade him farewell. He left her presence, praying God "she might be as blessed in the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

The zeal of the unyielding Covenanter displeased the more politic leaders of the Protestant party. In a letter to Cecil, Lethington wrote:

"You know the vehemency of Mr. Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, and yet doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot easily be digested by a weak stomach. I could wish he would deal with her

more gently, being a young princess unpersuaded. For this I am accounted too politic, but surely in her comporting with him she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of his Spirit!"

The compromise with Protestantism which prevailed, secured to the Queen the enjoyment of her own faith, conferred authority upon a mixed council and retaining two-thirds of the revenues for the Catholics and nobility, devoted one-third to the use of the new church. But other troubles remained untouched. There were the revolted and factious nobles to subdue; the probable collision with Elizabeth; and, finally, the question of her marriage,—for to accept a foreign prince would endanger her crown, and to marry a subject would sow additional discords in her kingdom.

Lord James Stuart was a master spirit among her admirers, and acted wisely, though a decided Protestant. The Queen made him Earl of Mar upon his marriage with the daughter of the Earl Marshal, and invested him with power to subdue the rebels on the frontier. He entered upon the difficult command, and with the heroic energy of his decided character, soon finished the work. His elevation increased the discontent of a jealous aristocracy; and in a fit of insanity, the Earl of Arran revealed a plot, which was disclosed to him by Earl of Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning, for invading the palace, making Mary a prisoner, and killing Lord James, to secure the reins of government. The conspiracy was of course crushed, and its authors were arrested.

Mary, meanwhile, had given to the sombre apartments of Holyrood, the luxury and much of the elegance of a French court. She embellished the walls with tapestry, adorned her person with jewels, and found amusement in directing, by her taste, the improvements in landscape gardening. Of the four *Marys* who had been her companions from girlhood the amiable Fleming married Maitland, Mary Livingston, William, eldest son of Lord Temple, and Mary Beaton, though once engaged, and Mary Seaton, remained unmarried. The following passages from Sir Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador, afford interesting glimpses of life at Holyrood. The Queen, after a sitting of her council, was walking with him in the garden, when she inquired,—"How like you this country—you have been in it a good space, and know it well enough?" "My answer was, that the country was good, and the polity might be made much better." "The absence of a prince hath caused it to be worse—but yet, is it not like unto England?" I answered, "That there were many in the world, worse than her grace's that were thought right good, but I judged few better than England; which, I trusted, that some time after, her grace should witness." "I would be content therewith if my sister, your mistress, so liked." I said, "That it was the thing that many of her grace's subjects did desire, and, as I judged, would also content my mistress."

Randolph adds: "I receive of her grace, at all times, very good words. I am borne in hand by such as are nearest about her, as the Lord James and the Laird of Lethington: that they are meant as they are

spoken of, I see them above all others in credit, and find in them no alteration; though there be that complain, they yield too much to her appetite, which I see not. The Lord James dealeth according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; the Laird of Lethington more delicately and finely, yet nothing swerving from the other in mind and effect. She is patient to hear, and beareth much. The Earl Marischal is wary, but speaketh sometimes to good purpose;—his daughter is lately come to this town:—we look shortly for what shall become of the long love betwixt the Lord James and that lady. The Lord John of Coldingham hath not least favor, with his leaping and dancing;—he is like to marry the Lord Bothwell's sister. The Lord Robert consumeth with love of the Earl Cassil's sister;—the Earl Bothwell hath given unto him old lands of his father, in Teviotdale, and the Abbey of Melross. The duke's grace * is come to Kinneil, and proposes not to come near to the court, except that he be sent for. I hear of nothing that is proposed against him; it is thought that he may be well enough spared. My Lord Arran proposeth not to be at court so long as the mass remaineth: there come few to it, but herself, her uncle and train. Three causes, I perceive there are, that make my Lord of Arran to absent himself; the one is the mass; the other, the presence of his enemy; the third, lack wherewith to maintain a court. By the first, he maintains his credit with the precise Protestants; the other argues less courage in him than many men thought, that his enemy is yet alive to have that place which he is unworthy of; the third manifests

* Chatellerault.

the beastliness of his father, that more than money, hath neither faith nor God. The lords now begin to return to the court, the bishops flock apace; the Metropolitan of St. Andrews arrived here on Monday last, with eighty horses in train, and to be seen he rode half-a-mile out of his way through the High-street of Edinburgh;—we know not yet what mischief he and his associates come for: he had with him only two Hamiltons."

Though the Earl of Mar had paralyzed the strength of the Hamiltons in the northern districts of Scotland, the Gordons were rebellious in the West. Earl of Huntly had planned a conspiracy against the life of Lethington and Earl of Mar. His son, John Gordon, had aspired to Mary's hand. But in consequence of a duel with Lord Ogilvy, he was summoned to repair to Stirling Castle. The mandate of his Sovereign he disregarded, and appeared in open revolt at the head of a thousand horsemen. His father, Earl of Huntly, having fortified the castles, took up his quarters in the mountains, to await the approach of Mary Stuart, who was making a tour to the northern frontier. She marched at the head of a small army, commanded by Earl of Mar. Reaching the Castle of Inverness, which was shut against her, she ordered an attack, followed by surrender, and the execution of the captain who held the stronghold.

She displayed great heroism in this campaign, enduring exposure and wearisome marches, fording rivers, crossing highlands, and encamping on the desolate heath; regretting "that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack,

a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." After this expedition, she gave to her brother the earldom of Murray, which resulted in open war with the Gordons. The final issue was, the conquest of the Hamiltons and Gordons, the farther triumph of Protestantism, and augmenting the power of Murray, who was virtually supreme, and ruled with no less energy than prudence.

Knox was, after all, the power behind the throne, whom Murray and the Queen regarded as a Titan among reformers. He wrote of her appearance in Parliament:

"Three sundry days the Queen rode to the Tolbooth; the first day she made a painted oration, and there might have been heard amongst her flatterers, '*Vox Dianæ*, the voice of a goddess! (for it could not be *Dei*,) * and not of a woman!—God save that sweet face! Was there ever orator spoke so properly and so sweetly!' All things," he adds, "misliked the preachers. They spake boldly against the superfluity of their clothes, and against the rest of their vanity, which they affirmed should provoke God's wrath not only against these foolish women, but against the whole realm. Articles were presented for orders to be taken of apparel, and for reformation of other enormities, but all was winked at."

Mary's marriage was a subject of much speculation and prophecy. Knox heard that she had rejected the king of Sweden, and was in danger of an Austrian or Spanish alliance, and openly denounced her course. He was again summoned into her presence; and, ac-

* Knox had in mind Herod Agrippa I. See Acts xii: 21, 22.

companied by John Erskine, of Dun, whose temper and aspect would remind one in contrast with Knox, of Melancthon by Luther's side, he promptly obeyed the royal mandate. The record of the interview, as given by himself, is an interesting exhibition of his own and Mary's peculiar qualities. He affirms, that she immediately began to weep, and exclaim:

"That never prince was used as she was; 'I have,' said she, 'borne with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself, and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible meanes; I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish mee; and yet I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I shall be once revenged;' and with these words scarce could Marnocke, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech.

"The said John did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunity answered; 'True it is, madame, your majesty and I have beene at diverse controversies, into the which I never perceived your majesty to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darknesse and errour wherein ye have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine, your majesty will finde the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive; without the preaching place, I thinke few have occasion to be offended at me; and there I am not master myselfe, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plaine, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth.'

"'But what have you to do,' said she, 'with my marriage?'

"'If it please your majesty patiently to hear me, I shall shew the truth in plain words. I grant your majesty offered unto mee more than ever I required, but my answer was then as it is now, that God hath not sent me to awaite upon the courts of princes, or upon the chamber of ladies, but I am sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus Christ to such as please to hear; it hath two points, repentance and faith: Now, in preaching repentance, of necessity it is that the sinnes of men be noted, that they may know wherein they offend. But so it is, that most part of your nobilitie are so much addicted to your affections, that neither God's word, nor yet their commonwealth, are rightly regarded; and, therefore, it becometh me to speak that they may know their duty.'

"'What have you to do with my marriage, or what are you within the commonwealth?'

"'A subject, borne within the same, madame; and albeit I bee neither earle, lord, nor baron, within it, yet hath God made me (how abject that ever I bee in your eyes,) a profitable and a useful member within the same: yea, madame, to me it appertaineth no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doeth to any one of the nobility; for both my vocation and office craveth plainnesse of me: and therefore, madame, to yourselfe I say that which I spake in publike: Whensoever the nobility of this realme shall be content, and consent that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they doe as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realme, and perchance shall, in the end, doe small comfort to yourselfe.'

"At these words, howling was heard, and teares

might have been seene in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine, of Dun, a man of meeke and gentle spirit, stood beside, and did what he could to mitigate the anger, and gave unto her many pleasant words of her beauty, of her excellency, and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to seek her favours; but all that was to cast oil into the flaming fire.

"No such mitigation, however, was offered by Knox, who stood still, without any alteration of countenance, and in the end said, 'Madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures, yea, I can scarcely well abide the teares of mine own boys, when mine own hands correct them; much less can I rejoice in your majestie's weeping; but seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me: I must sustaine your majestie's teares rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the commonwealth by silence.' Herewith was the Queen more offended, and commanded the said John to passe forth of the cabinet, and to abide further of her pleasure in the chamber.

"But in that chamber where he stood as one whom men had never seene (except that the Lord Ochiltree bare him company,) the confidence of Knox did not forsake him; and, therefore, began he to make discourse with the ladies, who were there sitting in all their gorgeous apparel; which, when he espied, he merrily said, 'Fair ladies, how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide! and then in the end that wee might passe to Heaven with this geare: but fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether

we will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foule wormes will bee busie with this flesh, be it never so faire and so tender; and the silly soule, I feare, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones.' "

Farther efforts at intimidation were made by the Queen in vain, and Knox left her in triumph. Soon after he was married to the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, an interesting young lady, twenty years of age; resembling, in her companionship with the Reformer, a bell-flower clinging to the side of an immovable rock.

The question of Mary's marriage also involved the English interest. She wished to be declared the presumptive heiress of Elizabeth, and on that condition would submit to her the choice of a husband. For three years, it was a matter of correspondence between the sovereigns, and their ambassadors endeavored to make the negotiations friendly and successful. The English hoped to secure a Protestant alliance, and with it Mary's conversion from Popery.

But while she firmly refused to sign the treaty of Edinburgh,* a step urged by her rival, she as little

* The negotiations, managed on the part of Cecil with much skill, were completed July 6, 1560. The articles conceded, on the part of the French commissioners, the renunciation of all pretensions to the crown of England, which had been assumed by the king and queen of France, and a complete recognition of the liberty of conscience, for which the reformers had taken up arms; no express recognition of the reformed worship was stipulated, and the bishops and other churchmen who had received injuries were to be redressed. For nearly a year Mary refused to ratify this treaty. It was then taken

thought of renouncing, under any circumstances, her allegiance to Rome. The Queen of England was as deeply hostile to nominating Mary her successor. While pursuing these different ends, to bring the conflicting claims to a favorable termination, a personal meeting was proposed. When, therefore, Lethington returned to Edinburgh, with a kind letter from Elizabeth, and her portrait, offering an interview, in the hope of cultivating, permanently, harmony between the two realms, Mary manifested great joy. With her natural vivacity and hopefulness, she said to Randolph, "I trust by that time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that ever after shall be between us, will be when we shall take leave, the one of the other. And let God be my witness, I honor her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister."

This pledge from Elizabeth was not fulfilled. She was involved in the continental wars, assisting the Huguenots, which she pleaded in her message to Mary, as a sufficient reason for postponing the interview till the following summer. The disappointment of the Queen of Scots upon hearing the announcement from Sir Henry Sidney, was significant of future attempts of a similar kind. Nor could it well be, that the ambitious sovereigns, so dissimilar in the whole outline of character, should confide in each other. "Both training and nature conspired to make these women opposites. Elizabeth's youth had been one of fear, and caution, and restraints, and her deportment

up by the estate of the kingdom who assembled, at the time stipulated, by the treaty, without having received any commission from the queen.—*Condensed from Knight*

always bore traces of this hard discipline, in its stiffness and want of grace. Mary's had been tenderly fostered; she was admired and even beloved, as far as the denizens of that court had hearts to love. Her 'charming nature' could expand in all the sunshine of general approval—there were no cold checks shutting her up within herself; her manner was, therefore, open, frank, engaging, and cordial—how should a prosperous, joyous beauty's ever be otherwise? But it was only an accomplishment, formed not by the heart so much as by external circumstances. She had no need in her youth for habitual circumspection, and her general demeanor was the gainer by it."

During the winter of 1563, Mary dispatched Lethington to the court of Elizabeth, to gain her favor towards the princes of Lorraine, and assert the right of succession, if the question should be agitated. Mary's temperament, and unfortunate education, were never more conspicuous than at this period, while vital questions to herself and her kingdom were pending. She abandoned herself to all the amusements and pleasures of a gay court. Music, dancing, falconry, poesy, and gallantries were the variety of life in the palace of Holyrood. In vain Knox mounted his pulpit to denounce the midnight festivities of royalty. He complained, "that princes are more exercised in fiddling and flinging, than in reading or hearing of God's most blessed word. Fiddlers and flatterers who commonly corrupt the youth, are more previous in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who, by wholesome admonition might beat down in them some part of the vanity and pride whereunto all are born, but in princes take deep root and strength

by wicked education." Mary's dissipation, naturally enough, engaged her in unhappy attentions from emboldened admirers.

A Captain Hepburn was so familiar and indelicate in his advances, that he escaped punishment only by flight. Chastelard, a poet and musician from Dauphiny, became a lover. He addressed poems to the beautiful Queen, to which, by proxy or otherwise, she replied; she allowed private visits in her cabinet more frequently than to any of her nobility; and by other expressions of peculiar regard, intoxicated him with passion. One evening he ventured to conceal himself under her bed, and upon his discovery, Mary ordered him to leave the court forever. Instead of compliance with the command, the infatuated lover followed her into Fife, whither she had gone on a tour to the North, and again concealed himself in her apartment. In a glow of indignation, she ordered Murray to kill Chastelard on the spot. But the calmer statesman put him under arrest for more deliberate condemnation. Two days later he walked to the scaffold, reciting Ronsard's hymn to death; and when he stood ready for the fatal blow, he raised his eyes to Heaven and exclaimed, "O cruelle dame!" The wide-spread and deep sensation produced by this tragical affair, which, whatever the desert of "the mad lover," tarnished Mary's reputation, urged upon her the necessity of marriage. Amid the many politic offers of an alliance, Elizabeth about this time proposed, through her ambassador, Randolph, Lord Robert Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland. He had wisely governed England under Edward VI., but presented no inducement to Mary Stuart, unless her haughty

rival would secure the right of succession. Besides, another suitor more promising to her ambition, and more pleasing to her fancy, entered the field of this matrimonial tournament. Lord Henry Darnley was the son of the Earl of Lennox, a refugee in England for having joined the cause of Henry VIII., who married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV. Connected thus with the royal families of both England and Scotland, and a young gentleman of very fine personal appearance and elegant manners, Darnley was a favorite with the Queen. His mother had, since Mary's return, been secretly planning for her son's promotion, unconscious that it would be his ruin. Lennox was invited to resume the lands and honors which he had forfeited and abandoned in Scotland; Elizabeth consented, and the earl arrived on his ancestral domain, September, 1564. Mary lavished her favors upon him, though it excited anew the displeasure of the Hamiltons, his bitter enemies. Mary determined, after consulting him, before a final resolution on the subject, to ascertain more fully Elizabeth's views of her prospective marriage, and the two suitors. She therefore dispatched James Melvil, a finished diplomatist, a scholar, and an accomplished gentleman, to the English court. Elizabeth, whose vanity was as proverbial as her policy, received Melvil with every mark of distinction. He was a guest of Lady Strafford, the Queen's confidant—Elizabeth entertained him with her music, and danced in his presence. He displayed his tact and talent in the reply to the question, the color of whose hair was reputed best—that of her own or of the Queen of Scotland? He an-

swered that "there was no one in England comparable to her, and no one in Scotland so beautiful as Mary Stuart." She was not satisfied with so equivocal a compliment, and Melvil assured her, she excelled Mary in complexion, music and dancing. Such flatteries reached the proud heart of Elizabeth. She kissed the portrait of Mary Stuart, and smiled brightly on Melvil. He, however, assured her, that Lord Robert Dudley would fail of winning the hand of his sovereign. She replied excitedly, "Lord Robert is my best friend; I love him as a brother, and I would myself have married him, had I ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end my life in virginity, I wished that the Queen, my sister, might marry him, as meetest of all others with whom I could find it in my heart to declare my succession. For being matched with him, it would best remove out of my mind all fears and suspicions to be offended by any usurpation before my death; being assured that he is so loving and trusty, that he would never permit any such thing to be attempted during my time. And that the Queen, your mistress, may have the higher esteem of him, I will make him, in a few days, Earl of Leicester, and Baron of Denbigh." Soon afterward Elizabeth fulfilled her pledge, and with her own hand placed the coronet of an earl upon his brow, and when the splendid ceremonies were over, she turned to Melvil and asked his opinion of Dudley. He replied, "that as he was a worthy servant, so he was happy who had a princess who could discern and reward good service." Pointing to Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, bore the sword of honor, she added, "Yet you like better yon-

der long lad." With a courtier's deceptive speech, he told her "that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man, for he was handsome, beardless, and lady-faced."

During repeated interviews, Elizabeth affirmed that if Mary would marry Lord Dudley, the matter of succession would be arranged. She said "that it was her own resolution to remain till her death, *a virgin Queen*, and that nothing would compel her to change her mind, except the undutiful behavior of the Queen, her sister." Melvil records, that upon his departure for Scotland, "she used all the means she could to oblige me to persuade the Queen, my mistress, of the great love she did bear unto her, and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times-coming to entertain a stricter friendship than formerly." The conclusion seems inevitable, that Elizabeth was patriotic as well as ambitious, and the glory of England was more attractive than the heartless mockery of love in a royal marriage. It doubtless would have been her choice, that Mary should live single like herself, and this policy entered into her proposal of Lord Dudley, who, she must have known, would have been rejected without the condition of the renewed succession to the Queen of Scots.

The following letter is an interesting review of the events which have been related:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.*

"From Lislebourg, 2nd November, 1564.

"Monsieur de Glasgow, the bearer of this, has

* James Beathon, or Bethun, or Beaton, the last Catholic

begged so earnestly to be taken into my service, that, without considering his youth, as I had before done, I would not let him set out without this short letter, in which I shall give you much news, referring to that which I have commanded him to say relative to the appointments of the Duke,* and of the Earl of Lennox, for the doing of which the more easily, it was necessary that this duke should resign to you the provostship of Glasgow, agreeably to the promise which he made you. I assured him that you would assent either to my disposing of it, or reserving it for you, being certain that, at my request, and for my service, you would at any time give it back to the said Earl of Lennox, as the bearer will tell you; also about the return of Melvil, whom I sent to the Queen, my good sister, with an apology for some letters which I had written to her, and which she considered rather rude; but she took the interpretation which he put upon them in good part, and has since sent me Randolph, who is here at present, and has brought me some very kind and polite letters, written by her own hand, containing fair words, and some complaints that the Queen † and her ambassador, ... had assured her that I had published in mockery propo-

Archbishop of Glasgow, fled from Scotland when the Catholic religion fell into disrepute, and retired to France, where he acted as ambassador for Mary, and her son James VI., for the period of twenty years. He died in Paris in 1603, at the age of 86.

* The Earl of Arran, created Duc de Chatellerault, by the King of France.

† Catherine, Queen of France.

sals which she had made me to marry Lord Robert.* I cannot imagine that any of those over there could wish to embroil me so much with her, since I have neither spoken to anybody, nor written respecting this proposal, not even to the Queen, who, I am sure, would not have borne such testimony against me; but I have thought of writing about it to M. de Foix, and to Baptiste. In the meantime, if you hear anything, talk to him on his return from England; let me know, but do not mention a word about what I am writing to you to any one whatever.

"For the rest, I shall hold the Parliament on the 5th of next month, for the sole purpose of reinstating the Earl of Lennox in his possessions, and afterwards I shall not fail to dispatch to you a gentleman, who will acquaint you with all that has occurred, more at length than I can inform you at present. Meanwhile I beg you to answer the letters I wrote to you by Rolland, and give me a circumstantial account of all the news where you are. I conclude at present, recommending myself heartily to you, praying God to give you his grace.

"Your very kind mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

At the beginning of the year 1565, Mary Stuart, having retired to St. Andrews for an interlude to the cares of the palace, Randolph visited her there at the repeated solicitation of Elizabeth. He has given sketch of the interview.

"Her grace lodged in a merchant's house; her train was very few; and there was small repair from any part. Her will was, that, for the time that I did

* Lord Robert Dudley, afterward Earl of Leicester.

tarry I should dine and sup with her. Your majesty was oftentimes dranken unto by her, at dinners and suppers. Having in this sort continued with her grace Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time to take occasion to utter that which last I received in command from your majesty, by Mr. Secretary's letter; which was to know her grace's resolution, touching those matters propounded at Berwick by my Lord of Bedford and me, to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Liddington; I had no sooner spoken these words, but she saith, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment; I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a Bourgeoise wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters; I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the Queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become; you see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think there is a Queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at St. Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh.'

"I said that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh she said that she did love my mistress, the Queen's majesty, better than any other, and now I marveled how her mind was altered. It pleased her at this to be very merry, and called me by more names than were given me at my christening. At these merry conceits much good sport was made. 'But well, sir,' saith she, 'that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing; before you go out of this town you

shall have a letter unto her, and for myself, go where you will, I care no more for you.' The next day I was willed to be at my ordinary table, being placed the next person (saving worthy Beaton *) to the Queen's self.

"Very merrily she passeth her time: after dinner she rideth abroad. It pleased her the most part of the time to talk with me; she had occasion to speak much of France, for the honor she received there; to be wife unto a great king, and for friendship shown unto her in particular, by many, for which occasions she is bound to love the nation, to show them pleasure and to do them good.

"Her acquaintance is not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it is divers ways sought to be continued. She hath of her people, many well affected that way, for the nourriture that they have had there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard, and men at arms; besides, privileges great for the merchants, more than ever were granted to any nation. What privately, of long time, hath been sought, and yet is, for myself to yield unto their desires in my marriage, her majesty cannot be ignorant, and you have heard. To have such friends, and see such offers (without assurance of as good,) nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to marry, you know, it cannot be for me: to defer it long, many incommodities ensue. How privy to my mind, your mistress hath been herein; how willing I am to follow her advice, I have shown many times,

* Mary Beaton, who, from her infancy, had been a maid of honor. She was the niece of Cardinal Beaton.

and yet can I find in her no resolution nor determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her; and to France, my will against her. I have lately given assurance to my brother of Murray and Liddington, that I am loath, and so do now show unto yourself, if your mistress did, as she hath said, use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will show no less readiness to oblige and honor her than my elder sister or mother; but, if she will repute me always but as her neighbor, Queen of Scots, how willingly soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace; yet must she not look for that at my hands, that ótherwise I would, or she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress herself approve my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure my case as her own, and so will I be to her. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wish me most good."

At this crisis, Darnley, a youth of nineteen, joined his father in Scotland. The motives which governed Elizabeth in permitting him to leave her realm are not certainly known. It is most natural, certainly, to suppose, that while continental princes were expectant of success, and Darnley's presence could not make matters worse; she also granted the request as a condescension to him. The young lord was a shrewd dissembler and a captivating suitor. He placed himself under Murray's guidance—in the morning went to hear Knox preach, and in the even-

ing danced a gilliard with Mary. The Protestant church he would thus conciliate, and also secure the favor of the court. Educated a Catholic, he was neither a devotee of Rome, nor an adherent of Knox. But Murray was not so easily won.

From this moment the struggle began between the two candidates of the Reformers and Catholics; between Leicester, who was supported by Lethington and Murray—and Darnley, who was strongly sustained by the Earl of Athol, all the Scottish barons who had remained faithful to their ancient creed, and an Italian named David Rizzio, who had succeeded Raullet as the Queen's Secretary for French correspondence, and who had already gained great influence over her. Lethington, at this time, wrote to Cecil a number of letters, full of the most polite considerations, in favor of a marriage which he thought might be so useful to their common cause and their two countries, and besought him to obtain from Elizabeth that concession which alone was needed to ensure its success. But Elizabeth complained that this was transforming the negotiation too much into a matter of bargain, and jocularly told Melvil, that Lethington, in his constant allusions to the succession, was, like a death-watch, ever ringing her knell in her ears. Lethington replied that his mistress merely sought a probable reason to lay against the objections of foreign princes, that they might see that no vain or light conceit had moved her to yield to the Queen of England's request in her marriage. As for himself, giving way to an enthusiasm which was far from habitual in him, he reminded Cecil of the union of England and Scotland, which would be effectuated by

this marriage, in language full of noble patriotism. "Such a stroke of policy," he remarked, "would secure for us a more glorious memory, a more unfading gratitude in the ages to come, than belongs to those who did most valiantly, serve king Edward the First in his conquest, or king Robert the Bruce in his recovery of the country."

Murray took a similar view, and urged the claims of Lord Dudley. If Elizabeth was ambitious in refusing to nominate her sister successor, Mary was no less aspiring in rejecting Dudley, if the English crown prospectively were not made the premium of acceptance. A definite declaration becoming necessary, Elizabeth directed Randolph to communicate to Mary Stuart her decision not to recognize the right of succession in any emergency; but if the Earl of Leicester were accepted as such, she would have no cause to repent the confidence reposed in her munificence. When the message was delivered, the Queen of Scots wept long and violently. The storm passed, and Mary's feelings and purpose turned toward Darnley. She admired him, and there was probably more affection indulged than she had known toward any other lover since Francis died. The step was one of collision with Murray, who opposed the marriage, and developed the opposition of the Protestant party, with the hostility of the Hamiltons, foes of Lennox; while Elizabeth saw in it a probable alliance with the Catholic powers of Europe, which would array against her the subjects of her own realm who maintained the Romish faith. Mary having settled the choice of a husband, addressed herself to the work of reducing the strength of opposers. She recalled from France

the dissolute Earl of Bothwell, to confront Murray, whom he intensely hated, and proposed the restoration of Earl Huntly, whose family Murray had disgraced. She likewise endeavored to convert her brother to her plans, by commanding his return to the court from which he had withdrawn, and demanding his signature to a paper approving her marriage. This he refused, and gave reasons of state and church policy. Mary was indignant, and without sufficient ground, charged him with aiming his rebellion at her crown. The result was open war between them.

Murray appeared in Edinburgh with five or six thousand men, to procure Bothwell's condemnation, and entered into a league with the Duke of Chatellerault and Earl of Argyle for mutual aid and defence. He conferred with the Protestant clergy concerning their protection, and applied, through Randolph to Elizabeth, for whatever help she might be willing to afford. The choice of Darnley had been declared in the Privy Council of the Queen of England, "prejudicial to both Queens, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both countries." She sent Throckmorton to carry to Mary Stuart that opinion, and once more propose Lord Dudley. When he reached Scotland, it was quite too late to interfere. She had not only watched at the sick bed of Darnley, but on the 1st of May, 1565, she announced to a convention of the nobility, which she had called for the purpose, her intention of marrying him. The measure was approved unanimously; and she then added to Darnley's honors the lordship of Ardmanoch and the earldom of Ross. She replied to Throckmorton's

message: "As to her good sister's great dislike to the match, this was, indeed, a marvelous circumstance, since the selection was made in conformity to the Queen's wishes, as communicated by Mr. Randolph. She had rejected all foreign suitors, and had chosen an Englishman, descended from the blood royal of both kingdoms, and the first prince of the blood in England; and one whom she believed would, for these reasons, be acceptable to the subjects of both realms."

Mary postponed the wedding, if possible, to propitiate her powerful neighbor, and avoid a hopeless alienation. Elizabeth was enraged, and sent the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, who was still in England, to the Tower, and summoned the Earl and his son to return. Lennox refused, until assured of the Queen's favor. Darnley replied to the messenger, with more spirit: "I do now acknowledge no other duty or obedience but to the Queen here, whom I love and honor; and seeing that the other, your mistress, is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may have need of me, as you shall know within a few days. Wherefore to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so purpose to keep me; and this shall be your answer."

Elizabeth assured the Reformers of her support, who made a desperate effort to prevent the marriage. The General Assembly of the Scottish Church met at the call of Knox and Earl of Argyle, and resolved to petition the Queen for the abolition of mass, and uniformity of the established religion throughout her kingdom. She conceded their right to maintain di-

vine worship as they desired, but claimed the same toleration toward himself. While she calmed the fears of many, Murray, whose whole nature was in a glow of indignation, in which blended the fires of hate to Popery and personal enemies, and the apprehension to peril to both church and state, headed a plot to surprise Mary and Darnley, on their way from Perth to Callander—either kill, or deliver him to the English—imprison Mary, and reinstate Murray. The conspiracy was detected, and the only alternative was a general revolt.

Murray called the people to arms, and Mary summoned the vassals of the crown to assemble immediately at Edinburgh, prepared for war. She issued a proclamation, designed to keep the church tranquil, and for the first time attended at Callander, the services of a Presbyterian minister, and heard the gospel from what she deemed heretical lips. This was a sacrifice of *conscience,* to prevent an uprising of the Reformers to join the rebellious nobles. She felt the need of haste, to remove inducements to opposition, and creating Darnley Duke of Albany, she received, July 22d, a dispensation from the Pope of Rome, making legal her marriage with a cousin, and appointed Sunday, the 29th, as the day for the nuptials. The preceding day she gave Darnley the title of King, which completely intoxicated his brain, and he began to show his consciousness of authority. Wise men shook their heads at the strides the "long lad" was making.

The Sabbath had scarcely dawned when, between five and six o'clock, Mary, in her rich mourning apparel, and the noble form of Darnley, entered the

royal chapel of Holyrood. The Dean of Restabrig performed the ceremony; the Queen, after the matrimonial salutation from Darnley, kneeled at the altar to hear mass, while he retired to the chase—avoiding, by this movement, the increased suspicion of the Protestants. Upon reaching her palace, Mary put off the sable attire and appeared in magnificent bridal robes. A banquet followed. The Earls Athol, Morton, Crawford, Eglington and Cassillis were table attendants. Money was scattered among the gathered populace, and the scene concluded with dancing and festivity. Darnley flaunted in kingly splendor, and Mary Stuart dreamed of a glorious future, as the silence of morning succeeded "music's voluptuous swell," and the hum of excited guests—a brief and delusive vision!

CHAPTER IV.

Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley was a decisive stroke in her destiny—the glory-gilded summit, from which her descent to a sea-girdled prison began. The friendly correspondence that had for four years existed between the Queen of Scots and Elizabeth, closed; and a hostility commenced, which necessarily involved their kingdoms. Murray had not been idle, during the hymeneal festivities of his sister. He wrote to the Earl of Bedford, to "crave his comfort, as of one to whom God had granted to know the subtle devices of Satan, against the innocent professors of the gospel, to stir up the powers of the world against the same." Randolph urged Elizabeth to aid Murray, "unless she wished to see Protestantism, and the English party in Scotland, fall together." She had said to the revolutionists, "Keep your sovereign by all lawful means from doing wrong, and you shall have all the help which I can give you, but it is no part of a subject's duty to oppose her by force." The assistance offered was scarcely more than a small sum of money, leaving the insurgents to their own resources. Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom hastened preparations for the campaign. In the capital, "the swash, the taborin, and the drum, were stricken through the streets, to raise recruits for the army."

Mary marched forth to meet the enemy. Darnley rode by her side in "gilded armor," the Earl of Len-

nox led the army, Chancellor Morton commanded the centre, and the King and Queen, attended by Parson Balfour, David Rizzio, and another Italian musician, brought up the rear. This force moved so rapidly against Murray, that he was compelled to fly from Stirling to Glasgow, and thence into the domain of his ally, the Earl of Argyle. Mary sent back the English envoy, Tamworth, dispatched by Elizabeth with a "haughty message," who, leaving a spirited reply, was intercepted by a band, because he refused to acknowledge Darnley king, and was carried a prisoner to Hume Castle. The fugitive Reformers had no alternative but to collect their available strength and march to Edinburgh, the metropolis of the realm, and the stronghold of Protestantism. With a thousand men Murray reached the capital, expecting a general uprising of the people. To his amazement, there was no sympathy displayed; none came to his standard, and his ranks were fired upon by the ordnance of the castle. The citizens, whatever their opposition to Catholicism, were not prepared to rise in rebellion against their beautiful Queen.

Another appeal by the party in revolt was made to Cecil, the Queen's adviser, and the Earl of Bedford, who commanded the English army on the frontier, for three thousand men, and ships of war, to cruise in the Forth. Elizabeth delayed, and Mary improved the time. She assembled a force of ten thousand men, and swept Murray's adherents from Edinburgh, like leaves in the hurricane's path. She then marched into the county of Fife, and taught submission to the offending barons. Her perfect form on a dashing charger, with pistols at her saddle bow, and

a glow of intense excitement on her lovely face, made the Queen of Scots a strangely fascinating object, amid the evolutions of a conquering host. But there were stormy passions beneath. Pursuing to Dumfries the departed Earl of Murray, retreating toward the English border, she declared to Randolph that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge.

Leaving her routed foe, she communicated in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in France, her plans, and view of the civil war.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"From Lislebourg, 1st October, 1565.

"Monsieur de Glasgow: I am greatly astonished; for a very long time I have received no tidings from you, not even Mauvissiere, who calls himself ambassador from the King. I beg you will let me hear oftener from you. As for any news here, you must know that Mauvissiere was commissioned to treat preliminarily between me and the Queen, my neighbor. This I willingly agree to; but as to treating with my subjects, having conducted themselves as they have done, I had rather lose all.

"Now, I am sure, you must have heard enough upon this subject from your brother, and since, from Chalmer: and there is nothing of very recent occurrence, but that they are getting worse and worse, and are now at Dumfries, where they have resolved to stay until I leave this place, which will be to-morrow, and then they will go, as I am informed, to Annan, which they propose to defend against me with the aid

of three hundred English arquebusiers of the garrison of England: and they boast that they shall receive more succors, both by sea and land, so as to be able to make head against our army, which is to set out to-morrow, or the next day at the latest, and with which the King and I intend to go in person, hoping that, the time of the proclamation having expired, we shall retire and give them time to wait for the army of the Queen of England, which is to be ready next spring. Urge the Queen as often as you can, and by all the means in your power, to send us men and money in this emergency, and then write forthwith what I have to hope for: and beware, above all things, of exciting the jealousy of a certain person whom you know, and with whom you must privately use the like persuasions. Something was known at court about your dealings with Bay.

"I shall write you more fully on the first opportunity; but above all, keep a good look-out, and see if my rebels hold any secret communication over there with the Protestants, or Chatillon; and if the Duke and Earl of Murray have any agent about the Queen, whom you may assure that they have full liberty of conscience, and that this is not the motive which influences them, nor the public welfare; for I have made no changes in the order of things to which they have themselves consented; and if they were not at the council, it has been because I never could get them to come to it after my marriage, except a few, who, after taking part against them, subsequently went over to their side, which they now begin to repent of, and among others the duke and Gudo, . . . who have sent me word to that effect.

"Yesterday, Dromleveriel and Lowener sent to me to beg pardon, saying they would serve us, assuring me they had forsaken them, finding their intentions so different from what they represented. The traitor Maxwell is deeply ashamed of having so basely broken his faith with me; he does not appear disposed to send his son to England as an hostage, not having forgotten how his last was treated; this he sent me word himself. In short, when England perceives that we have ever so little succor to hope for, they will draw back, I should think, from seeing those people so disheartened. You will see the memorandum which I have given to the bearer, of what he is to say to the king, instead of instructions. Tell me how he acquits himself of his commission, for I assure you he is more English than Scotch. Here I conclude, praying God to grant you a happy and long life

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

She expressed her estimate of the rebels fully, in a proclamation issued at this crisis of affairs.

"Certain rebels, the authors of this uproar lately raised up against us, have given the people to understand that the quarrel they have in hand is only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly designs, and to draw after them a large train of ignorant persons, easy to be seduced. . . . . Their ambition could not be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honor upon honor, unless they retain in their hands, us, and our whole realm, to be led, used, and disposed at their pleasure. We must be forced to govern by counsel, such as it shall please them to

appoint us—and what other thing is this, but to dissolve the whole policy, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the prince obey, and subjects command. The like was never demanded by any of our most noble progenitors heretofore, yea, not of governors and regents. When we ourselves were of less age, and at our first returning into this our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure, and now, when we are at our full maturity, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils, and be put under tutory? This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand; this is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives, and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels, against your natural prince. To speak in good (plain) language, they would be kings themselves, or at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themselves the credit and whole administration of the kingdom."

She concluded with a promise of security to their possessions, and liberty of conscience, on condition of loyalty to their sovereign. A final entreaty was sent by the insurgents to Elizabeth, to save the imperiled church, and deliver the persecuted, who were exposed to Mary's displeasure, they affirmed, through the baneful influence of Rizzio and Darnley, both foreigners, assuming without right or the consent of the people, authority in the cabinet and over the kingdom. She had ordered troops and money to be placed at the command of Murray; but a few days later, hearing of his defeat, countermanded the order and abandoned the cause, with an expression of lively sympathy. The English Queen was cautious and art-

ful, with a steady eye upon the glory of her realm, and the proud distinction of reigning *alone*.

Mary Stuart having gained the ascendency, no longer disguised her wishes and plans. Under the direction of her secretary, Rizzio, she began to plot the restoration of the Romish faith. Darnley united with her in an application to Philip II., of Spain, and the Pope, for aid in the undertaking, justifying their cause by the applications made already to Elizabeth. Her letter to Philip discloses her intentions.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING PHILIP II.

"To the King of Spain.

"Monsieur my good brother—the interest which you have always taken in the maintenance and support of our Catholic religion, induced me some time since to solicit your favor and assistance, as I foresaw what has now taken place in the kingdom, and which tends to the utter ruin of the Catholics, and to the establishment of those unfortunate errors, which, were I and the King my husband to oppose, we should be in danger of losing our crown, as well as all pretensions we have elsewhere, unless we are aided by one of the great princes of Christendom.

"Having duly considered this, as likewise the constancy you have displayed in your kingdoms, and with what firmness you have supported, more than any other prince, those who have depended on your favor, we have determined upon addressing ourselves to you, in preference to any other, to solicit your advice, and to strengthen ourselves with your aid and support. To obtain this, we have dispatched to you

this English gentleman, a Catholic, and a faithful servant of the King, my husband, and of myself, with ample directions to give you an account of the state of our affairs, which he is well acquainted with; and we beg you to believe him as you would do ourselves, and to send him back as soon as possible; for occasions are so urgent, that it is of importance both for the crown and the liberty of the church; to maintain which we will risk our lives and our kingdom, provided we are assured of your assistance and advice.

"After kissing your hands, I pray God to give you, monsieur my good brother, every prosperity and felicity. Your very good sister,

"MARY R."

This monarch, who was the royal head of Papacy in Europe, sent, in reply to her solicitation, twenty thousand crowns,* and wrote to the Pope, who added eight thousand more. This pontiff expressed his regrets that he could not then offer any other assistance, and also said that the hope of asserting, by armed force, Mary's right of succession to the throne of England must not be renounced, and gives the reason: "This project concerns the cause of God, which is mentioned by the Queen of Scotland, since it is evidently the only door by which religion can enter into the kingdom of England, for all others are now shut."

Refusing mediation offered by Castelnau de Mauvissiere, the French ambassador, Mary affirmed in a proud speech, "I would rather lose all than treat with

* The English crown of the present day is worth $1.21. In the sixteenth century the value varied somewhat, but was generally worth a little less than that of to-day.

my subjects," and a third time, October 9th, accompanied by Bothwell and Huntley, marched with about twelve thousand men toward Dumfries, to expel the remnant of the revolutionary party. Murray's small force was routed at the first onset, and he fled into England on the 14th of the same month. The Queen of Scots was victorious, and in the giddiness of elevation, she resorted to vengeance. She determined to condemn as traitors the rebel lords, and with the sympathy of the English Catholics, she thought to make even the haughty Elizabeth repent of whatever encouragement she had given the insurgents. She incautiously remarked to some of her nobles, who expressed a fear that her continual riding and much exposure to storms would prove exhausting —"That she would never cease to continue in such fatigues, until she had led them into London." Her tone became dictatorial to Elizabeth, who in turn was surprised and perplexed. The Spanish and French ambassadors at her court increased her embarrassment by defending Mary's interests. Elizabeth collected troops on the frontier, and summoned prominent Catholic nobles in council, the real motive of which was, apprehension that they were favorable to the designs of her now resolute and enthusiastic rival. To calm Mary's displeasure, she also affected indignation towards Murray, and made him publicly deny that he had received the least aid from her in the rebellion. Then addressing him in the presence of the French ambassador, she said, angrily:

"It is well that you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any one else in my name, ever encourage you in your unnatural rebellion against your

sovereign; nor, to be mistress of a world, could I maintain any subject in disobedience to his prince; it might move God to punish me by a similar trouble in my own realm; but as for you two, ye are unworthy traitors, and I command you instantly to leave my presence."

There is a consistency in this with the rule Elizabeth had before given, in respect to the duty of subjects. It is not certain that she favored the uprising of the people as designed by Murray, however she desired to prevent a marriage she disliked, or feared Mary's pretensions. The Queen of Scots was advised to be merciful to her foes, as a matter of policy at least, to increase her power, and avoid occasion of further complaint with Elizabeth. But passion ruled the sovereign, and following the advice of her foreign relatives, she planned the death of offenders, by condemnation, at the meeting of the next Parliament.

David Rizzio, since he came to Mary's court, in 1562, in the suite of the Count of Moretto, the Savoy ambassador, had been gaining ascendency over the Queen. From the office of valet, he rose to that of private secretary in 1564, on the removal of Raulet. He was now at the zenith of influence in the palace. "The greater part of the affairs of the kingdom passed through his hands. He managed them with so much prudence, and brought them to so satisfactory a conclusion, that he was greatly beloved by her majesty." Gorgeous in equipage and style of living, flattered and caressed, he became haughty and presumptuous. Mary's reputation was injured by his singular influence and royal living. Elizabeth, complaining of Murray's presumption, said, "That it

was all owing to an Italian named David, whom the Queen of Scotland loved and favored, and granted more credit and authority than were authorized by her affairs and honor."

Rizzio was in the pay of the Pope, and urged Mary to severity towards the rebels. Darnley meanwhile had been losing the confidence and affection of the Queen. Sir William Drury wrote to Secretary Cecil, in the following strain:

"All people say that Darnley is too much addicted to drinking. 'Tis certainly reported there was some jar betwixt the Queen and him, at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, she only dissuaded him from drinking too much himself, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words that she left the place with tears; which they that are known to their proceedings, say is not strange to be seen. These jars arise, amongst other things, from his seeking the matrimonial crown, which she will not yield unto; the calling in of the coin, wherein they were both, and the duke's (of Chatellerault) finding so favorable address; which hath much displeased both him and his father. Darnley is in great misliking with the Queen; she is very weary of him; and, as some judge, will be more so ere long; for true it is, that those who depend wholly upon him, are not liked of her! nor they that follow her, of him; as David Rizzio, and others; some say she likes the duke better now than formerly; so some think, that if there should be the quarrel betwixt her and Darnley, which she could not appease, that she will use the duke's aid in that affair. There also

have arisen some unkind speeches about signing letters: he, immediately after his marriage, signing first, which she will not allow of now. His government is very much blamed, for he is thought to be wilful and haughty, and some say vicious; whereof too many were witnesses, the other day at Inchkeith, with the Lord Arbroath, Flemings, and such like grave personages."

The arrogant Darnley had repeatedly urged Mary to confer upon him the *crown matrimonial;* that is to say, an equal share in the government of the realm, which was granted to Francis II., her first husband. She steadily refused the request, because she despised his inefficiency, and had lost whatever affection she entertained for him at an early period of their acquaintance. The disappointed Darnley, jealous of Rizzio's familiar friendship for Mary, and seeing a domestic war inevitable, charged his own failure and her displeasure upon the Italian secretary. He was the captive of ambition stimulated by that demoniac passion,* which "is the rage of a man; therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance." The purpose was formed, to remove the hated object, and disclosed to his cousin George Douglas. He also sent Douglas to confer with Lord Ruthven, concerning his griefs, and plans of revenge. The assassination of Rizzio, and seizing the *matrimonial crown,* were leading designs of the conspiracy.

Lord Ruthven was an invalid, but after a brief visitation, consented to the plot, which was made known to Lord Lindsay and Randolph. The latter

* Jealousy. See Proverbs vi : 34.

wrote on the subject to Leicester; from it this passage is quoted:

"I know now for certain, that this Queen repenteth her marriage; that she hateth him (Darnley) and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him. I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between the father and son to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr. Secretary (Cecil), I speak not of them but now to your lordship."

The conspiracy progressed secretly, and no suspicion of evil darkened the horizon of Rizzio's hopes. The friends of Mary and Lennox had united against Murray; and now the adherents of Lennox sought a coalition with the party in revolt, to make the blow aimed at the crown successful. The Earl of Morton, a relative and warm friend of Murray, was a Protestant, and Chancellor of the Kingdom. The retaining of his lucrative and honorable office was motive sufficient to induce him to act as the leader of the enterprise. He was equal to the emergency. "To obtain the concurrence of the principal ministers and most powerful persons of the Reformed party; to bring back the exiles, and to restore to them the authority which they had lost; to secure the support of Elizabeth and her chief ministers, Cecil and Leicester; to

murder Rizzio; to dissolve the Parliament, about to be convoked for the purpose of legally consummating the ruin of the fugitive lords; to imprison the Queen; to confer the nominal sovereignty upon Darnley; to replace Murray at the head of the government: such was the plan conceived by Morton, and adopted in Scotland by Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lethington, by Knox and Craig, the two ministers of Edinburgh, Bellenden, the justice-clerk, Makgill, the clerk-register, and the lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston. The Earl of Lennox himself proceeded to England to communicate it to Murray, Rothes, Glencairn, Grange, and Ochiltree, the father-in-law of Knox, who readily embraced it, and agreed to repair to the frontier, so as to be ready to return to Edinburgh as soon as the plot had succeeded."

This daring and comprehensive conspiracy was expressed in two solemn covenants, embracing both the King and the instruments of his ambition. The former set forth Darnley's determination to *protect* the Queen's honor, by seizing the abusers of her "gentle and good nature," and with the assistance of certain of the nobility and others, if those enemies of the realm resisted, "to cut them off immediately, and to slay them wherever it happened." The King was committed to the defence of his confederates at all hazards. The latter obligation bound the actors in the bloody plot, to the support of Darnley in his ambitious schemes against all his enemies.

Randolph and Earl of Bedford wrote to Elizabeth's secretary on the 6th of March, 1566, a full and most confidential account of the matured conspiracy. They said:

"You have heard of divers discords and jars between this Queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself, as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which if it were not overwell known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonor that can be to any man, much more being as he is.

. . . . . .

"If persuasions to cause the Queen to yield to these matters do no good, they propose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the Queen's majesty, our sovereign, shall be sought, and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment. These are the things which we thought and think to be of no small importance; and knowing them certainly intended, and concluded upon, thought it our duties to utter the same to you, Mr. Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom."

Elizabeth offered no opposition to the intrigue. Mary was altogether in happy ignorance of it. She had seen the disaffection of the nobility toward Rizzio, and bitterly reproached them for a selfish reference to their own family glory, without regard to her

choice of "a man of low estate, poor in means, but generous in mind, faithful in heart, and well adapted to fill an office."

The general fast of the Reformed church, which had commenced March third, gathered to Edinburgh the principal clergy and laymen, among whom Knox and Craig preached on topics adapted to the condition of affairs. Oreb, and Zeeb, and Haman,* were held up as examples of divine justice falling upon the heads of guilty princes and their ungodly favorites. The conspirator fixed upon Saturday evening, March 9th, for the closing act of the tragédy. The fatal day dawned and waned as usual in the palace, until eight o'clock, when Darnley, who had supped earlier than was his custom, went by a private staircase to Mary's apartments, when she was at tea with Lady Argyle, her sister, her brother, Earl of Orkney, Areskine, master of her household, her physician, and Rizzio. The court-yard was thronged with armed men, and the shout of "A Douglas!—a Douglas!" reached the Queen's ears; she was in a delicate condition, and trembled with alarm; but before she could ask the cause of the outcry, Ruthven, clad in a suit of armor, and ghastly with lingering disease, broke into the room. Mary recoiled from the spectre; the dying conspirator exclaimed:

"Let it please your majesty that yonder man,

* Oreb and Zeeb were two princes of Midian who were slain by the Ephraimites after Gideon's great victory. See Judges vii : 25. Haman was hung upon the gallows he had caused to be erected for the execution of his enemy, Mordecai. See Esther, chapter vii. In those days both preachers and statesmen were much given to justifying their ways by drawing historical parallels from the Old Testament.

David, come forth of your privy-chamber, where he hath been over long."

The Queen answered, "What offence hath he done?"

Ruthven replied "that he made a greater and more heinous offence to her majesty's honor, the King her husband, the nobility, and commonwealth."

"And how?" said she.

"If it would please your majesty, he hath offended your honor, which I dare not be so bold as to speak of. As to the King your husband's honor, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised him; besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed, and hath caused your majesty to banish a great part of the nobility, and to forfeit them, that he might be made a lord. And to your commonwealth he hath been a common destroyer, hindering your majesty to grant or give anything but what passed through his hands, by taking of bribes for the same; and caused your majesty to put at the Lord Ross for his whole land, because he would not give over the lands of Melvin to the said David, besides many other inconveniences that he solicited your majesty to do." Then the Lord Ruthven said to the King, "Sir, take the Queen your wife and sovereign to you," who stood all amazed, and knew not what to do.

"Then her majesty rose upon her feet and stood before David, he holding her majesty by the plaits of her gown, leaning back over the arch of the window, his dagger drawn in his hand: meanwhile, Arthur Areskin, and the Abbot of Holyrood-House, and the Lord Keith, master of the household, with the French

apothecary, and one of the chamber, began to lay hands on the Lord Ruthven, none of the King's party being there present. Then the said Lord Ruthven pulled out his dagger, and defended himself until more came in, and said to them, 'Lay no hands on me, for I will not be handled.' At the coming in of others into the cabinet, the said Lord Ruthven put up his dagger, and with the rushing in of men, the board fell into the wall, meat and candles being thereon."

Poor Rizzio cried out in broken language, "I am killed!" begging piteously for her protection. Amid the awful confusion, during which the Queen fainted, the terrified secretary was dragged through Mary's bed-room into the entrance of her presence chamber, where, in spite of Morton's wish to keep him until the next day and hang him, George Douglas, seizing the King's dagger, stabbed him, saying loudly that it was the *royal blow*. His comrades rushed on, and did not leave the bleeding form, until it was pierced with *fifty-six* wounds.* The body was thrown out of the window into the court-yard, and carried to the porter's lodge. Mary, upon regaining her self-possession, was aware from circumstances that attended the murder, of her husband's connection with it, and indignantly reproached him with these words: "My Lord, why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me, considering that I took you from low estate, and made you my husband; what offence have I given you that you should do me such shame?" Ruthven records

* Rizzio's blood-stains are to this day pointed out upon the floor of Mary's chamber in Holyrood palace.

that he replied he had good reason, for since the Italian's familiarity with her, she had not "regarded, entertained, or trusted him after her wonted fashion." Mary replied, "My Lord, all the offence that is done me, you have the wite thereof, for the which I shall be your wife no longer, nor lie with you any more, and shall never like well till I cause you to have as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."

After a tumult in the palace, made by an effort to expel the King's party, Ruthven left her majesty's presence, and upon his return, she inquired after Rizzio's fate. Receiving no direct answer, the following conversation took place, as given by the resolute lord who was on the confines of the grave:

"What offence or default have I committed, to be thus treated?"

"Inquire of the King, your husband."

"Nay, I will inquire of you."

"Madam, if it would please your majesty to remember, that you have for this long time, a number of perverse persons, and especially one David, a stranger, an Italian, who ruled and guided the country without advice of the nobility and council; and especially against those peers that were banished."

"Were you not one of my council? Why would you not declare, if I did aught amiss?"

"Because your majesty would not listen, in all the time your majesty was at Dumfries, but whenever you called your council together, did things by yourself, and your privy persons: albeit, your nobility suffer the pains and expense."

"Well, you find great fault with me; I will be content to set down my crown before the lords of the

articles,* and if they find that I have offended, to give it where they please."

"God forbid, madam; but who chose the said lords of the articles?"

"Not I."

"Saving your majesty's reverence, you chose them all in Seaton, and nominated them; and as for your majesty's council, it hath been suffered to wait full long: and what was done, it behooved them to say it was your majesty's pleasure, and the lords of the articles. Your majesty first chose such as would say whatsoever you thought; and now, when the lords of the articles have sitten certain days, reasoning if they could find any principal cause why they should be forfeited? No, madam, not so much as one point, except false witness, be brought against them."

Darnley sent forth a proclamation to the magistrates of the city, that Protestants alone should be allowed to leave their houses; and the next day discharged the Parliament. This murder deprived Mary of a devoted and valuable servant, shook her sceptre, and wounded her honor. The night following was one of extreme agony. The pale and perfect features of the beauty were bathed in tears during the silence of midnight, while the victim of her partiality was in a dreamless sleep, "life's fitful fever" over. Mary, virtually a prisoner in her palace had entered

* The Lords of Articles prepared all the matters which were to be laid before Parliament; and they not only directed its proceedings, but possessed a negative before debate. It should be remembered that a Scottish Parliament consisted of great barons, ecclesiastics, and a few representatives of boroughs; they composed but one Assembly, over which the Lord Chancellor presided.

the *penumbra* of the total eclipse, which, with delusive prelude of brightness, would soon bring "the days of darkness."

Ruthven's savage manner awakened Mary's fears for her own safety. Unexpectedly seeing Melvil, she desired him to apprize Murray that he would be freely pardoned, on the condition of protecting her life and liberty.

The Earls of Huntley and Bothwell, hearing of Murray's expected return, and apprehending danger to themselves, escaped from the windows of the palace by means of a cord, which let them down into the open fields. Other lords who were at Holyrood followed the example, and fled. Mary placed her hope of deliverance mainly in Darnley, who at length sought her presence. Finding her calm amid all the fierce agitation around her, he related the particulars of the successful conspiracy. The following is the Queen's record of the closing scenes described:

"After this deed, the said Lord Ruthven, coming again in our presence, declared how they and their accomplices were highly offended with our proceedings and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how he was abused by the said David, whom they had actually put to death; namely, in taking his counsel for maintenance of the ancient religion; debarring the lords who were fugitive, and entertaining amity with foreign princes; putting, also, upon counsel the Lords Bothwell and Huntley, who were traitors, and with whom he associated himself; that the lords banished in England were that morn to resort to us, and would take plain part with them in our controversy, and that the King was willing to remit them their of-

fences. We all this time took no less care of ourselves, than for our council and nobility, to wit, the Earls Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, Lords Fleming and Livingston, Sir James Balfour, and certain others, our familiar servitors, against whom the enterprise was conspier, as well as for David: and, namely, to have hanged Sir James; yet, by the providence of God, the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley escaped at a back window by some cords; the conspirators took some fear, and thought themselves disappointed in their enterprise. The Earl of Athol and Sir James Balfour, by some other means, with the Lords Fleming and Livingston, obtained deliverance. The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our palace, caused to ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, and communed with us; and to have known our welfare; to whom we were not permitted to give answer, being extremely boasted by their lords, who in our face declared, if we desired to have spoken them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the walls. Our brother, the Earl of Murray, that same day at even, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes, Pitarrow, Grange, and others, came to us, and seeing our state, was moved with natural affection towards us; upon the morn he assembled the enterprizers of the late crime, and such of our rebels as came with him. In their council they thought it most expedient that we should be warded in our Castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved, in Parliament, all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the King the crown matrimonial and the whole government of our realm, or

else by all appearance prepared to put us to death, or detain us in perpetual captivity."

When Murray entered Mary's apartment, she embraced him, and weeping, said, "Had you been here, I should not have been so treated." He was moved to tears, and taking her arm, while Darnley walked also in company, she discoursed of her sorrows. Of the result of an interview with the apparently repentant King, she writes: "We declared our state to the King, our husband, certifying him how miserably he would be handled if he permitted the lords to prevail; and how unacceptable it would be to other princes, our confederates, in case he altered the religion. By this persuasion he was induced to condescend to the purpose taken by us, and to retire to Dunbar. We being minded to have gotten ourselves relieved of this detention, desired Earls of Bothwell and Huntley to have prepared some way whereby we might have escaped; who, not doubting therein at least, taking no regard to hazard their lives in that behalf, desired that we should have come over the walls of our palace in the night, upon chairs, which they had in readiness to that effect soon after."

Thus, Darnley, after having opened the series of royal treacheries and scenes of bloodshed, and grasped the reins of authority, in his weakness, yielded to the grief of the fascinating captive. With mutual confessions, Darnley was reconciled, the Queen forgiving, and the conspirators abandoned. His next move was to effect her escape. He informed his devoted associates that the Queen was attacked with a fever, which required a change of air; at the same time expressing her readiness to pardon them for past of-

fences. They were suspicious of the design, and cautioned Darnley. But he repeated his confidence in her honor. She wished them to prepare articles of security, which she would sign. Having no better alternative, they complied; and at midnight, March 11th, Mary Stuart, Darnley, and Arthur Erskine, her captain of the guard, fled from Holyrood, and dashed away on fleet horses to the Castle of Dunbar. It was an ominous night; that Queen, her subdued yet haughty husband, and a single guard, flying in the stillness and gloom of night from the walls, within which stood a vacant throne!

Upon her arrival at Dunbar, she issued the summons to her nobility to meet her arms. The conspirators had discovered that the articles of safety were left without her signature, and dispatched Lord Temple to demand a fulfillment of her pledge. He waited three days for an answer, during which she had assembled an army collected by Bothwell, Huntley, and others. On the 16th she issued a proclamation, denouncing the leaders in the late sanguinary transactions, and to strengthen her cause, conciliated Murray, Argyle, Glencairn and Rothes, on condition of refusing any sympathy with the murderers of the secretary. The objects of her hate, the hunted rebels, were Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, George Douglas, Andrew Ker of Fandonside, and sixty-five other lairds or gentlemen, whom she ordered to appear, and answer for their crime. She then marched upon the capital, where they were. On her approach, they escaped to England, and she once more entered the city of an outrage, which had kindled a glow of vengeance in her passionate heart. The Earl of Lennox

was forbidden to appear at her court; Lethington was deprived of office; Joseph Rizzio, brother of David, was appointed private secretary; honors were paid to the dead; and the accessories of the murder, guards of the gates, and other subalterns, were condemned to death. Her intense fervor of revenge reached some who were wholly unconnected with the assassination. Darnley was compelled to deny any interest in the conspiracy, by a public declaration, in which he speaks of the wicked persons who had implicated him in "the late cruel murder, committed in presence of the Queen's majesty, and treasonable detaining of her majesty's most noble person in captivity." "His grace," he added, "for the removing of the evil opinion which the good subjects may be induced to conceive, through such false reports and seditious rumors, hath, as well to the Queen's majesty as in the presence of the lords of secret council, plainly declared upon his honor, fidelity, and the word of a prince, that he never knew of any part of the said treasonable conspiracy whereof he is slanderously and falsely accused, nor never counseled, commanded, consented, assisted, nor approved the same."

His accomplices were naturally enough fired with indignation at his treachery. To have incited them to hazard all for the augmenting of his power, and to gratify his jealousy, and then to betray them coolly to the wrath of the injured sovereign, was treason below the ambition of a demon. They turned upon the traitor, by transmitting to Mary the bonds which he had *signed,* in contemplation of securing the matrimonial crown, and dispatching Rizzio. These covenants dispelled all doubt on the Queen's mind re-

specting the deliberate, premeditated guilt of her husband, and opened an impassable gulf of alienation and disgust between her and himself. She despised him as a conspirator, a coward, and a liar.

Melvil records in his memoirs: "The Queen lamented unto me the King's folly, ingratitude, and misbehavior; I excused the same the best I could, imputing it to his youth, which occasioned him to be easily led away by pernicious counsel, laying the blame upon George Douglas, and other bad counsellors; praying her majesty, for many necessary considerations, to remove out of her mind any prejudice against him, seeing that she had chosen him herself against the opinion of many of her subjects. But I could perceive nothing from that day forth but great grudges that she entertained in her heart."

Mary's hatred to Darnley appeared in gradually excluding him from all participation in public affairs, and entrusting responsible offices to Earls of Bothwell, Huntley, Athol, and the Bishop of Ross; transferring with undissembled designs, his honors and powers to her favorites.

As the time of her confinement approached, the Queen, suspicious, because of former plots against her, that unexpected advantage might be taken of her condition, removed to Stirling Castle, where, while a child, she had been crowned, and where she was about to become a mother—a responsibility and honor, transcending the diadem of royalty. On the 19th of June, 1566, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, was born a son, whose brow was destined to wear the united crowns of the rival sovereigns.*

* James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

Melvil was immediately dispatched to Elizabeth, to announce the event, and request her "to act as godmother to the Prince of Scotland." The English Queen was in the midst of a magnificent ball, which she had given to her court at Greenwich, when Cecil, secretary of state, entered the crowded and brilliant ball. She was dancing when he whispered the tidings in her ear. A shade passed, like a storm-cloud over the landscape, across her flushed and kindling features. The magic whirl suddenly ceased, and sinking with a sigh into an arm-chair, she said to the ladies near her person, "that the Queen of Scots was mother to a fair son, while she was but a barren stock." She soon regained her accustomed self-control, and the following day she received Melvil with a smile, expressing joy at the advent of a prince, and thanking him for bringing her the pleasing intelligence. She also assured him, that she "gladly condescended to be a gossip to the Queen."

"She immediately sent Sir Henry Killegrew to congratulate the Queen of Scotland on her behalf, to assure her of her friendship, and to express her approbation of her conduct towards Rizzio's murderers, whom she had nevertheless granted an asylum in her dominions."

Darnley wrote the following letter, upon the birth of his son:

KING HENRY DARNLEY TO MONSIEUR THE CARDINAL DE GUISE.

"From the Castle of Edinburgh, this 19th day of June, 1566, in great haste.

"Sir, my uncle: having so favorable an opportunity of writing to you by this gentlemen, who is on the

point of setting off, I would not omit to inform you that the Queen, my wife, has just been delivered of a son; which circumstance, I am sure, will not cause you less joy than ourselves; and also to inform you how, on this occasion, I have, on my part, as the Queen my said wife, has also on hers, written to the king, begging him to be pleased to oblige and honor us by standing sponsor for him, by which means he will increase the debt of gratitude I owe him for all his favors to me, for which I shall always be ready to make every return in my power.

"So having nothing more agreeable to inform you of at present, I conclude, praying God, monsieur, my uncle, to have you always in his holy and worthy keeping.

"Your very humble and very obd't nephew,

"HENRY R."

The message of instructions from Charles IX. of France, to his special messenger to the Queen of Scotland, throws light on the passing events:

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE SR. DE MAUVISSIERE * ON A MISSION FROM THE KING OF FRANCE TO SCOTLAND.

"The Sr. de Mauvissiere, whom the king is now sending to Scotland, will, on passing through England, wait upon the Sr. de la Forest, his ambassador, and accompany him, to present to the Queen of the

* Michael Castelnau Seigneur de Mauvissiere was frequently employed in diplomatic missions, and was in 1575 appointed French ambassador in London, which post he held for six years.

aforesaid England the letters which their majesties have written to her; and say that, having sent him to Scotland, it is their wish that, in passing through the kingdom, he should wait upon her, and present in their names, their most affectionate respects, from the desire they have not to omit toward her anything that mutual friendship demands; and which their majesties wish not only to perpetuate, but to augment by all the means possible, as well as by every act of kindness. And, at the same time, the said Sieur de Mauvissiere will assure the said lady, that the perfect friendship the king bears her is so strong and so sincere, that all the concern and affairs of the said lady interest him as much as his own, and that he ardently desires to prove the sincerity of his affection, rather by deeds than by words.

"That the reason for which he is going to Scotland is to congratulate, in the name of their majesties, the said Queen of the aforesaid Scotland, on her happy delivery, and that God has given her a son, which news was very agreeable to them, as they also presume that it will have given the greatest joy to the said lady.

"That his stay will be so short, that, if it please the said lady, to commission him to say anything on her part to the Queen of Scotland, he will deliver the message faithfully, and bring her an answer in a few days.

"Having performed the above duty to the said Queen of England, he will see the Duke (earl) of Leicester, and say to him that their majesties continuing to entertain for him the same good-will they have always hitherto done, it is their wish that Sr. de la

Forest should assist him in every way he can in regard to his marriage, and to make such offers as he will repeat, of which the duke will judge if they can be useful to him, or in any way facilitate and promote the conclusion of it; and that, if it be agreeable to him to make known his intentions to the said Sr. de la Forest, or the Sieur de Trochmortin, D. Guillerey, or any other whom he may think proper, he will find that they will proceed more expeditiously than the Sieur de Foix, his predecessor; having been commanded so to do by their majesties, who desire that the Sieur de la Forest will inform them of this in his own name, and contract the closest private familiarity with the said Sieur de Trochmortin, Guillerey, or any other whom the duke may choose to employ, to procure him information, and assist him in the prosecution of his undertaking in such manner as the said duke may intimate that he has occasion for. That the said Sr. de Mauvissiere, on arriving in Scotland, shall first visit the Queen of that kingdom, and after delivering to her the letters of their majesties and their affectionate remembrances, he is to congratulate her on her happy delivery, and its having pleased God to give her a son, assuring her their majesties received the news with the greatest joy, and will be still happier to learn that the mother and infant are as well as can be desired.

"Besides he has letters to the King, her husband, to express the like congratulation to him, but also with the express command not to do anything in this matter but what the said lady should think fit, and to use such language to him as she may deem proper and order.

"That he has also letters of introduction to different gentlemen of that country; that if the said lady considers it serviceable to her that he should hold any language to them on the part of their majesties, he must do so; being, when all is said, expressly commanded to do nothing but by her advice, and conduct himself, in all respects, as may be for the interest of her affairs, according as she may direct him.

"And if, inasmuch as the said Sieur de Mauvissiere says he thinks the said Queen of Scotland will ask what assurance he brings her of the assistance she is to expect from the king in her affairs, in men or money, if the said lady should speak to him on this subject, he is to reply as follows:

"That monsieur the Cardinal of Lorraine, having acquainted their majesties that the said lady had need of money, and seeing that, from the state of his finances, he could not spare any of his own, had begged their majesties to furnish him with the sixty thousand livres * which were due of his pension, and which their said majesties would have done most willingly; but there not being sufficient ready money in the hands of the treasurer to furnish him with the said sum, the said treasurer had rendered himself responsible in his own private name toward those from whom the said sieur the cardinal should obtain the said sum, which their majesties think that he would not fail to remit to the said lady, knowing she had need of it. And the said lady must not doubt, that if his majesty had had as much money at his command as good-will to assist the said lady, she would always find his purse open and at her service.

* The livre was worth 19¼ cents.

"As to sending succors in men, their majesties have been informed from various sources, that the affairs of her kingdom are at present in such a state of peace and tranquillity as not to require it, and that she, to whom God had given so fine and promising an heir, is so much revered and obeyed, that they think her most important object will be to reconcile her subjects to each other, if there yet remains any enmity among them on account of the past, and to preserve peace and tranquillity in her dominions; and for this reason they have not thought it necessary to give any instructions on this head to the Sieur de Mauvissiere, that on his return he may be able to report the same to their said majesties, who will always do, in favor and for the assistance of the said lady, whatever she can promise herself and expect from princes, who are her best and most sincere friends in this world.

"His majesty is much gratified by the favor which the said lady has done him, by having chosen him as one of his sponsors; and, being desirous of gratifying and obliging her to the utmost of his power, begs her to inform him which of the princes of his kingdom or other seigneurs will be most agreeable to her to hold her son at the holy font of baptism in his name; as the one whom she may name and select, his majesty will immediately dispatch on receiving from her this information."

Mary looked upon her first-born with more than maternal affection; ambitious hopes gave a glow of intense interest to her pale and beautiful face. The subjection of foes, and the right of succession in England, were associated with the earliest glance of the

infant's wandering eye. She little thought that her idol would cost her a throne, and as a result, tears numberless as the drops of morning dew.

The education of the prince was a question of immediate concern. The Protestant leaders assembled in the High * Church to offer public thanksgiving for the Queen's safety, and resolved to urge that her son should be nurtured in the evangelical faith.

"For this purpose a congratulatory deputation from the General Assembly, headed by the superintendent of Lothian, communicated to the Queen the prayers of her subjects, that she would be graciously pleased to allow their prince to be reared in the true faith. Unfortunately for Mary, she discovered not how much it imported, even to her personal safety, to acquiesce in this demand;—more unfortunately still, she allowed herself to believe, that both in Scotland and England, the ancient worship was ultimately to be restored. In each country the number of Catholics had lately increased, and she well knew that in France, Spain, and Italy, a league existed for the extirpation of heretical principles. With these internal convictions, Mary scrupulously abstained from a promise, not only revolting to her conscience, but incompatible with her foreign engagements; unwilling, however, at such a moment, to cause displeasure to her subjects, she ordered the infant prince to be presented to the deputies, and with her wonted grace, placed him in the arms of the superintendent. Charmed with this affability, the minister uttered a prayer for the

* St. Giles' was in common speech known as High Church. It is situated at the head of High street, near the castle which crowns the hill.

babe's future honor and prosperity, and, at the conclusion, extorted from the child a certain responsive murmur, to signify that he pronounced, Amen. Mary, now in her turn delighted, with genuine expressions of maternal fondness, thanked the minister, sportively calling him good Mr. Amen, an appellation by which he was ever after distinguished."

The exciting question of the succession was again revived, according to Mary's orders, by Melvil, who addressed Elizabeth on the subject. The Queen of Scotland effected a union between Murray, Argyle, and Lethington, to secure the influence of the Protestant party in England; while the same policy brought together Bothwell, Huntley, Athol, and the Bishop of Ross, to control the Catholic power, in the attainment of her cherished and growing aspirations. In the midst of those reconciliations and favorable negotiations with the lairds, who led the Presbyterian body, the radical Catholics interposed, by a foolish claim of Elizabeth's sceptre in Mary's behalf.

Patrick Adamson, a Scotchman, published in Paris a Latin work, in which she was called Queen of England, and her son, Prince of Scotland, England and Ireland. This fully aroused Elizabeth. Parliament, which had been debating the transmission of the crown for several days, she summoned before her, and with a stern rebuke, unfolded the dangers of appointing a successor beforehand, with these words: "I am your natural Queen, and although you show yourselves so adverse to my will in this affair, I will not consent to its being carried farther." The lower house still persisted in the discussion, until Elizabeth commanded peremptorily a cessation of further con-

sideration of the unpleasant and hopeless question. Referring angrily to Adamson's volume, in a message to Mary, she said: "You know, madam, that there is nothing in the world which so much concerns my honor as that there should be no other Queen of England but myself."

This unsettled condition of rival claims continued, while Mary entered on a more dangerous experiment. James Hepburn, the Earl of Bothwell, was a daring, impetuous, and dangerous man. The owner of large estates—by marriage he had united one of the most influential families of the South, with the most powerful family in the North of Scotland. Lady Jane Gordon had been his bride but a few months, when, during the summer of 1566, Mary Stuart cherished a fatal passion for the earl. Unblushing in his vices, and fearless in his wildest schemes, his heroism and bold ambition won the admiration of Mary, who felt burdened by the presence of the weak and unreliable Darnley. Bothwell aimed to secure her affection and share her sovereignty. He was chivalrous, though neither handsome nor truly refined; and to an ardent woman, his dashing independence and extravagant devotion were qualities that obscured the vices of dissipation, and unscrupulous plans of personal elevation. The Queen, before she was aware, was an unresisting victim of his fascinating power. His influence over her, and in the court, alarmed the youthful King, and he began to look for a protecting party. He sought to enlist the Catholic church, and wrote the Pope, charging the Queen with indifference to the progress of the ancient faith. In an excursion to Alloa, on the banks of the Forth, it is recorded, that

upon the restoration to Mary's favor of the Laird of Lethington, on that occasion, Darnley, who hated him, in a passion left the party and hastened to Edinburgh. Mary soon followed to meet Mauvissiere, who had arrived from France with the congratulatory message from Charles IX. The ambassador acted as mediator, and apparently succeeded in making a reconciliation between the alienated parties. For several weeks civility and tranquillity marked their intercourse. Darnley accompanied the Queen and ladies of the palace, in a tour to the Western Highlands, but before the royal expedition closed, he became more irritable and insulting than at any former period. Mary's female companions did not escape the ebullitions of his anger. He finally withdrew to a private house, and refused decidedly to attend Mary to the capital. In his melancholy musings he resolved to abandon his country, and wander, self-exiled, a desolate and neglected being, who could publish, with the sympathy of all, the story of his wrongs. This was revenge that he knew would wound the Queen deeply; her pride and sensibility would be keenly stung. A ship was ready to convey him to France, when his father visited him and wrote immediately to Mary Stuart at Edinburgh, to communicate her husband's intention, and his own inability to change the King's purpose.

The same day that she received the letter of the Earl of Lennox, awakening the apprehension that Darnley had already sailed from Scotland, he arrived at Holyrood. His vacillating nature had dismissed the desperate design of a departure, for the endeavor to renew confidence and harmony with Mary. She

at once assembled her council, invited the French ambassador, De Croc, to be present, while an explanation was demanded of the King, of his strange plans. Darnley was taken by surprise, for, instead of an amicable settlement of difficulties, he was brought to the tribunal of accusation and inquiry. To the questioning of the lords he was silent. De Croc assured him his projected voyage and absence involved the Queen's honor and his own, and urged him to give his reasons for so dangerous a resolve. He at length replied, that Mary had given him no occasion; which was all that she desired. Whether he remained in the realm or not, she, before competent witnesses, was acquitted by his own confession. She therefore said, "she was *satisfied*." The following passages are quoted from a letter of the council to the queen-mother of France, supposed to be from the pen of Maitland, which detail the interview with Darnley:

"About ten or twelve days ago, the Queen, at our request, came to this town of Lisleburg (Edinburgh). Her majesty was desirous the King should have come with her, but because he liked to remain at Stirling, and wait her return thither, she left him there, with an intention to go towards him in five or six days; meantime, whilst the Queen was absent, the Earl of Lennox, his father, came to visit him in Stirling, and having remained with him two or three days, he went his way to Glasgow, the ordinary place of his abode; from Glasgow my Lord of Lennox wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her Majesty, that though formerly, both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he endeavored to divert him from an enterprise he had in view, he neverthe-

less had not the interest to alter his mind. This project he tells the Queen, was to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea, and for this purpose he had a ship lying ready. The Earl of Lennox's letter came to the Queen's hands on Michaelmas-day, and her majesty was pleased to impart the same to the lords of her council; and if her majesty was surprised by this advertisement, these lords were no less astonished to understand that the King, who may justly esteem himself happy, upon account of the honor conferred upon him, and whose chief aim should be to render himself grateful to her country, should entertain any thoughts of departing after so strange a manner, out of her presence; nor was it possible for them to form a conjecture from whence such an imagination should take its rise. Their lordships, therefore, took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation. The same evening the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter into the palace, by reason that three or four lords * were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in; which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest lords in the kingdom, and that those kings who by birth were sovereigns of the realm, have never acted in that manner towards the nobility. The Queen, however, received this behavior as decently as was possible; and condescended so far as to meet the King without the palace, and so conducted him into her own apartments; and there he remained all

* The Earls Murray, Rothes and Glencairn.

night, and then her majesty entered calmly with him on the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution; but he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had any occasion offered him of discontent. The lords of council being acquainted, early next morning, that the King was going to return to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's apartment, and no other person being present, except Monsieur de Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them, as being here on the part of her majesty; the occasion of their being together here was then, with all humility and reverence due to their majesties, proposed: namely, to understand from the King, whether, according to advice imparted to the Queen, by the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the realm, and upon what ground, and for what end? That if his resolution proceeded from discontent, they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same. That if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should immediately be repaired to his satisfaction. And now we did remonstrate with him, that his own honor, and the Queen's honor, the honor of us all, was concerned; for if without just occasion, he would retire from the palace, and abandon the society of her to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him, she humbled herself, and, from being his sovereign, surrendered herself to be his wife; if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him, as ingrate and utterly unworthy to possess the place to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, if any

just occasion had been given him, it behooved to be very important, since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a Queen, and noble realm; and the same must have been afforded either by the Queen herself, or us, her ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand, Then her majesty was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that since he would not open his mind to her in private, according to her most earnest request, he would declare before these lords, where she had offended him, in anything. She likewise said, that she had a clear conscience; that in all her life she had never done anything that could prejudice his or her honor; but, nevertheless, as she might have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require; therefore, prayed him not to dissemble.

"But though the Queen and all others, with Monsieur de Croc, used all the interest they were able, he would not own that he had intended any voyage, and declared freely, that the Queen had given him no occasion of complaint. Whereupon he took leave of her majesty, and went his way, so that we were all of opinion this was but a false alarm the Earl of Lennox was willing to give her majesty; nevertheless, by a letter, which the king has since wrote to the Queen in a sort of disguised style, it appears that he still has it in his head to leave the kingdom; and there is an advertisement otherwise, that he is secretly proposing to be gone.

. . . . . .

"'Tis true, that in the letter he grounds a com-

plaint on two points; one is, that her majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him, and make him honored, as she first did; and the other point is, that no body attends him, and that the nobility desert his company. To these the Queen has made answer, that if the case be so, he ought to blame *himself,* and not *her;* for, that in the beginning, she had conferred so much honor upon him, as came afterwards to render herself uneasy—the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him, having served as a shadow to those who have most heinously offended her reputation. But notwithstanding this, she has continued to show him such respect, that although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entered her chamber with his knowledge, having followed close, and had named *him* the chief of their enterprise; yet would she never *accuse,* but did always *excuse* him, and was willing to appear as though she believed it not. And then as to his not being attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants; and as for the nobility, they come to court and pay deference and respect, according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance; but that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved, having gone so far as to prohibit those noblemen from entering his room, whom she had first appointed to be about his person. If the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof; for if he desires to be followed and attended, he must, in the first place, gain their love, and for this purpose render himself amiable to them,

without which, it would be difficult for her majesty to regulate this point—especially to make the nobility consent, that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands, because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter."

When Darnley rose to leave the council, he said to the Queen, "Adieu! madam. You shall not see my face for a long space." Turning to the lords, he added, "Gentlemen, adieu!" At that moment the distance between him and Mary was wider, and more sharply defined, than when he reached Edinburgh. He continued preparations for leaving the kingdom, but subsequently abandoned them, to his own and the Queen's misfortune.

Instead of opposing any farther the King's determination, Mary Stuart, without inviting him to join the party, made a tour to the south-eastern frontier, to quell the insubordination of the Johnsons, Armstrongs and Elliots, who, like mountain-panthers, were fiercely warring with each other. October 6th, 1566, the Earl of Bothwell, by the Queen's commission, as lord lieutenant, had repaired to the scene of conflict. Two days after, the Queen reached Jedburg to hold her "justice aire," * or assizes, and sustain with royal justice and presence the military force. On the day of her arrival, Bothwell, in a personal combat with John Elliot of Park,† was dangerously

* "Justice aires were holden annually in the provinces for the administration of justice. Many flagrant enormities having been committed in Liddisdale, it was deemed necessary that the Queen should assist in person, in the manner of her predecessors."

† This John Elliot, *alias* John of Park, was a notorious out-

wounded, and immediately removed to the Castle of Hermitage, not far from the marches, where he encountered the borderers. When Mary heard of the Earl's peril, she "was so highly grieved in heart, that she took no repose in body until she saw him!" * With the restlessness of impatient love, she remained at Jedburg officially until the 15th of October, when she took a dashing steed and flew to the Hermitage, attended by Murray and other nobles. She found the favorite chieftain pale and languishing, and feared a fatal issue. Deeply grieving, she yielded to the urgency of affairs, and with marvelous fleetness returned the same day to Jedburg; making the whole distance traveled on horseback about *forty miles*. But refusing rest, she employed the time after reaching her apartments, "till the noon of night," writing to Bothwell, whom she had so recently left. The following morning prostrating disease crimsoned her cheek, and falling into a swoon, she lay at the gate of death for several hours. When this insensibility passed, the fair sufferer was in the embrace of a burning fever. Reason was dethroned, and it seemed to all that life's golden bowl would soon be broken. With returning consciousness, Mary thought also that her departure was near. Requesting the nobles to offer prayer in her behalf, she confided her son to Elizabeth, and sent a messenger to apprise Darnley of her danger.

The tidings of Mary's illness, spread over the plains and highlands of Scotland. Prominent mem-

law. The cause of the quarrel between the two men is not known.

* Crawford.

bers of the nobility hastened to Jedburg. Meanwhile, Bothwell, convalescent, with knightly ardor sought her presence. He was member of the privy council, and would have doubtless been there, if for no other reason. But the entire affair, from the combat with the freebooter, had worn the romance of concealed passion.

Darnley arrived the 28th of October, and finding Mary already favorably past the crisis of her malady, he tarried only a night, and repaired again to Glasgow. A visit to a wife and Queen on the couch of pain, so brief and coldly formal, deepened the bitterness of her enmity, and stimulated her devotion to the courtly earl. The recovery to comparative health was slow. November 8th, she journeyed with careful conveyance and frequent rest, to Kelso, and along the coast to Craigmillar Castle, where she took apartments on the 20th; a distance of three miles from Edinburgh. Melancholy and spectral from sorrows and disease, she appeared yet on the confines of eternity. De Croc wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow: "The Queen is not well. I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats the words, 'I could wish to be dead.'" Said the observing Lethington: "It is an heart-break for her to think that he should be her husband, and how to be free of him she sees no outlet." This dismal complaining awakened in the minds of those around her, various plans for the relief of the Queen. Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay, who were connected with her counselors, by ties of relationship or friendship, having shed the blood of

Rizzio, were ready for further dark conspiracies. Lethington arranged a plan with shrewd calculation, and daring disregard of tragical results. He proposed the return of the exiled murderers, on conditions of a divorce from Darnley, and if necessary, his assassination. Bothwell seized the suggestion enthusiastically, and Argyle and Huntley assented. Murray was anxious to have his sister secure a divorce, as the only deliverance from greater evils. When the scheme was broached to Mary Stuart, she answered, "That on two conditions she might agree to the proposal: The first, that the divorce should be made lawfully, and that it should not prejudice her son; otherwise, she would rather endure all torments, and abide the perils that might ensue."

The Earl of Bothwell answered, "The divorce might be made without prejudice to the prince, since he himself had succeeded to his father's title and estate; although he had been divorced from his mother."

It was also suggested that after the divorce, the King should remain in one part of the country, the Queen in another, or that he should withdraw to a foreign land.

The Queen here said, "That perhaps he would change his opinion, and that it was better that she herself for a time passed into France."

Then Lethington rejoined, "Think ye not that we, who are of the chief of your nobility and council, shall find means that you be quit of him without prejudice to your son? and although my Lord of Murray be no less scrupulous for a Protestant than your

grace for a Papist, I am sure he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings."

The Queen here answered decidedly, "I will that ye do nothing to spot my honor or conscience; and therefore I pray you let the matter rest, till God of his goodness find the remedy." *

Lethington closes the conference by remarking, "Madam, let us guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by Parliament." This interview was immediately followed by an act which was the shadow of fearful events. The lords entered into a bond and solemn oath, "to cut off the King as a young fool and tyrant, who was an enemy to the nobility, and had conducted himself in an intolerable manner to the Queen." Pledging to each other fidelity unto death, in this defence of the state, the covenant was signed by Sir James Balfour, the writer, and a partizan of Bothwell, Huntley, Lethington and Argyle, and committed to the care of Bothwell. A few weeks later, the royal christening occurred at Stirling Castle. Mary was educated amid pomp, of which she was fond, and preparations for the festival had been made on a magnificent scale.

The Pope's nuncio was invited to attend, but upon more prudent advice, Mary prevented his appearance on dangerous ground. Elizabeth appointed the Countess of Argyle to represent her as godmother, and dispatched Bedford with a font of gold, valued at five thousand dollars, to be used at the ceremony. Darnley was not present, though in the Castle. In the

* Extracted from the declaration of the Earls Huntley and Argyle. See Appendix to Keith; Anderson's Collections.

consciousness of his degradation, and in anger, he shut himself in his room till the imposing service was concluded. Bothwell was master of ceremonies, though a Protestant; and but two of the nobles had been adherents of Rome. Mary shone in jewels, illustrating what is oftener true than known, that beneath a golden vestment and robe may beat an anxious heart, and under a crown, throb a troubled brain. Such is God's eternal law of correspondence between a man's real condition and his character. The French ambassador, De Croc, wrote a letter descriptive of the baptismal scene, and the incidents which occurred:

"DECEMBER 23d.

"The christening of the prince was solemnized on Tuesday last, when he received the name of Charles James; it was the Queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, together with Charles, after the King of France, because, said she, all the good Kings of Scotland, his predecessors, who have been most devoted to the crown of France, were called by the name of James. Everything was performed according to the holy Catholic church. The King, Lord Darnley, had still given out that he should depart two days before the christening: but when the time approached, he gave no sign of removal; only, he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the ceremony, he sent three times, desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint the hour when he might come to my lodgings; so that I found myself obliged to signify to him, that since he was on no good terms with the Queen, I had been

charged by the most Christian king, to have no communication with him. And I caused him also to be told, that as it would not be proper for him to come to my lodgings, where there was a crowd of company; as he might understand that there were two passages in it, and that if he entered by one door, I should be constrained to go out by the other; nor can any good be expected from him. I cannot pretend to foretell how all may terminate, but this I will say, that matters cannot long remain as they are, without producing bad consequences."

Mary, upon the renewed entreaty of Lethington and Bothwell, restored Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and seventy-six more of the refugees. Elizabeth, in private correspondence, had advised the Queen to do so, and also to treat Darnley with kindness. But the King, alarmed at the return of his own instruments of vengeance, hastily abandoned the court, and took up his residence in Glasgow, at his father's house. The small-pox was prevailing, and he became its victim.

Notwithstanding, the plot against his life went steadily forward. Bothwell, who was the soul of the conspiracy, continued to gain confederates. Morton returned to Scotland the fore part of January, 1567. The earl made an unwearied effort to enlist his powerful co-operation, but he refused, though assured that the Queen approved the measure, unless he could see her signature of sanction. This he attempted to obtain, and failed. Whether Mary had withheld all connivance from her admirer, or was governed by prudence only, cannot be certainly known. It was rumored at this time, that the King had determined

to seize the person of his son James, have him crowned, and hold in the name of the prince the sceptre of the realm. Mary was sufficiently disturbed to remove James to Edinburgh, that no surprise might give reality to her fears. Darnley was recovering from sickness, but powerless as infancy.

The Queen accused him of the absurd design, and expressed her feelings in a communication to the Archbishop of Glasgow:

"For the King, our husband, God knows *always our part towards him,* and his *behavior* and thankfulness to us in semblament well known to God and the world—especially our own subjects see it—and in their hearts, we doubt not, condemn the same,—always we perceive him occupied, busily enough, to have inquisition of our doings, which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with, or to report of us any ways but honorably. Howsoever he, his father, and their followers speak, who we know want no good will to make us *ado*, if their power were equivalent to their mind; but God moderates their forces well enough, and takes means of the execution of their pretences from them, for as we believe they shall find *none or very few approvers* of their councils and devices, imagined to our displeasure or disliking; and thus commit you to the protection of God.

"Your right good mistress,

"Mary.

"At Edinburgh, the 20th Jan. 1560."

Soon after this letter was written, Mary left the capital for Glasgow. She found Darnley still an invalid, and greatly amazed at her visit, because he had heard of her suspicions, and caught faint tokens of an impending bolt. He told her all, expressing his sad apprehensions, although he knew she had refused to sign a paper authorizing his seizure, and if he resisted, his murder.

"He added that he would never think that she, who was his own proper flesh, would do him any hurt: and then, with more vanity than confidence, he declared that if any others should intend to injure him, he would sell his life dear, unless they took him sleeping. Mary in her turn reminded him of his intention to retire to the Continent, and of the project attributed to him by Hiegate and Walcar.* He affirmed that he had never been serious in his threats of departure, and denied the second charge with vehemence." Mary, at length, with her gentle persuasion, tearful and lustrous blue eyes, subduing reproaches, and expressions of affection, won the confidence of the vacillating, miserable phantom of royalty. He had always loved her, and his alienation was that of wounded pride, and undisguised contempt from the object of love and ambition. His confessions were full, and promises for the future satisfactory.

He begged her to leave him no more. Mary then wished him to go to Craigmillar soon as able to travel on a litter; he consented, if she would receive him cordially to her heart, as her true husband. To this

* The reported plan of securing the coronation of the prince, and acting as regent.

she assented, and gave him her hand, suggesting a delay till cured of his sickness, and desired him to keep the reconciliation a secret, to avoid giving offence to the nobles. The mind pauses over this scene, bewildered and sad. To believe Mary entirely sincere in so great and sudden a transition of manner, is an amplitude of charitable credulity it would be pleasant to award. To doubt her truthfulness, is to people the obscurity of a woman's heart with more demoniac inmates, than the deepest depravity in time would seem to warrant. By whatever reasons, enforced by a false training, she hushed the upbraidings of conscience, the conclusion of perfidy is inevitable. She was impetuous in feeling, and gave herself to a favorite object with almost insane ardor. Bothwell manifestly ruled the Queen, and she stooped to his lawless designs. He had transferred Nicholas Hubert, his servant, more familiarly called Paris, from the city of his nativity, to her service. He was in the conspiracy of his former master, and was with the Queen during her visit to Glasgow. Paris, only two days after Mary's arrival, was the bearer of a letter to Bothwell, containing evidences of attachment to the earl, and comments on the interview with Darnley, in these remarkable words:

"I have never seen him better, or speak so humbly, and if I had not known from experience that his heart is as soft as wax, and mine as hard as diamond, I should almost have taken pity on him. However, fear nothing. You constrain me so to dissimulate, that I am horrified, seeing that you do not merely force me to play the part of a traitress; I pray you remember that, if desire to please you did not force

me, I would rather die than commit these things; for my heart bleeds to do them. In brief, he will not come with me, unless upon this condition, that I shall promise to use in common with him a single table. and the same bed as before, and that I shall not leave him so often, and that if I will do this, he will do all I wish, and will follow me." Carried away by the violence of her love, she told Bothwell that she would obey him in all things; and begged him not to conceive a bad opinion of her; "because," she continued, "you yourself are the occasion of it; I would never act against him, to gratify my own private revenge."

In her wild impulses, she laid on the altar of sacrifice to Bothwell's ambition, her honor, principle, and conscience—a mournful example of frailty and guilt, upon the summit of human greatness. Paris conveyed the message, with a purse of gold, and bracelets which Mary had made for Bothwell. The faithful servant was directed to inquire where Darnley should be lodged, in the Kirk of Field or at Craigmillar. It was deemed improper to take the King to the palace, on account of his malady. It was decided by Bothwell and Lethington to give the invalid apartments in the Kirk of Field, which was "a large, open space near an old Dominican convent of Blackfriars."

In the pleasant area were gardens and houses, the residences of the Duke of Chatellerault, Robert Balfour, a relative of Sir James, who drew the murderous bond, and others. The house of Balfour was selected, because, though less spacious, it was more secluded than any other dwelling. Paris saw Bothwell and James Balfour in consultation, who gave to the servant this brief and significant direction: "Re-

turn to the Queen, and recommend me very humbly to her grace, and tell her all will go well, for Mr. James Balfour and I have not slept the whole night, so we have set all things in order, and have got ready the house. And tell the Queen that I send to her this diamond by your hands, and that if I had my heart, I would send it to her very willingly." It was not long before poor Darnley was moving slowly towards the place of doom, and lavishing caresses on the Queen, who wrote to Bothwell, "according to the commission which I have received, I shall bring the man with me Monday."

Darnley consented to the arrangement for the Kirk of Field. But his mind was distressed with the apprehension of treachery. He said to Crawford, "I have fears enough, but may God judge between us. I have her promise only to trust to, but I have put myself in her hands, and shall go with her, though she should murder me." Bothwell met Mary and the King just before they reached Edinburgh; and on the 31st of January, the invalid, trembling with dread presentiments, entered the apartment from which he would not depart alive. The house was small and poorly furnished. It was of two stories, the lower containing a cellar, and a single room besides; the upper story was divided into a gallery over the cellar, and a bed-chamber corresponding to the room beneath. "Nelson, Darnley's servant, when he arrived at Kirk of Field, was about to prepare the Duke of Chatellerault's house for the reception of his master. But the Queen prevented him, and directed him to Balfour's house, whither the necessary furniture was conveyed, and which Bothwell had evidently chosen,

that he might carry out his murderous intentions with greater facility. Darnley was established on the first floor, where his three servants, Taylor, Nelson, and Edward Simons, occupied the gallery, which served at once as a wardrobe and cabinet. The cellar on the ground floor was transformed into a kitchen, and the Queen had a bed prepared for herself in the room immediately below that in which the King slept. She also directed that the door at the foot of the staircase, which communicated between the ground-floor and the upper rooms, should be removed. Thus installed, though very uncomfortably, by Darnley's side, she passed several nights under the same roof with him. Her assiduity, her attention, and the manifold proofs which she gave him of her affection, were all well calculated to dispel his fears."

Meanwhile, the Earl of Bothwell was busy with his remorseless imaginings, whose unfinished plan was the murder of the object between him and a throne. He had enlisted, to act subordinate parts, his chamberlain, tailor, porter, and others, whose metle he had tested in frontier conflicts. False keys were prepared, and a barrel of gunpowder procured by Bothwell. Paris tried the keys, to be sure of their similarity, but when his old master unfolded the whole plan of assassination, he hesitated, fearing his own destruction might be the result. And according to subsequent confession of the Frenchman, the following conversation occurred:

"On hearing him my heart grew faint; I did not say a word, but cast down my eyes." Bothwell, who was not pleased at his silence and consternation, looked at him with impatience, and asked him what

he thought of the plan. "Sir, I think that what you tell me is a great thing." "What is your opinion of it?" reiterated Bothwell. "Pardon me, sir, if I tell you my opinion according to my poor mind." "What! are you going to preach to me?" "No, sir, you shall hear presently." "Well! say on." Paris then reminded him of the trouble and misfortunes of his past life, and sought to dissuade him from this murder, which would destroy his present tranquillity, and endanger the extraordinary favor which he had attained. He concluded by telling him: "Now, sir, if you undertake this thing, it will be the greatest trouble you ever had, above all others you have endured, for every one will cry out upon you, and you will be destroyed." "Well," said Bothwell, "have you done?" "You will pardon me, sir, if you please, if I have spoken to you according to my poor mind." "Fool that you are!" said Bothwell, "do you think that I am doing this all alone by myself?" "Sir, I do not know how you are going to do it, but I know well that it will be the greatest trouble you ever had." "And how so?" said Bothwell; "I have already with me Lethington, who is esteemed one of the most prudent men in this country, and who is the undertaker of all this; and I have also the Earl of Argyle, my brother Huntley, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay. These three last will never fail me, for I have begged for their pardon, and I have the signatures of all those I have mentioned to you. We were desirous to do it the last time we were at Craigmillar; but you are a fool and poor of mind, unworthy to hear anything of consequence."

Paris finally consented to Bothwell's satanic proposals, it may be with less pause than he affirms. He promised to introduce Hay of Tallo, Hepburn, and Ormiston, into Mary's chamber, on the evening appointed for the deed, while she was with Darnley, that they might deposit the powder there. Paris was ordered not to place the Queen's bed under the King, because the explosion must be where it stood. This was neglected, and he affirms that Mary, coming in, directed the change to be made. The night of Sunday, February 9th, was the time designated for the terrible experiment. Paris says, the Queen then substituted worn drapery for the new velvet in Darnley's chamber; and Nelson, Bothwell's servant, testified, that she removed a rich coverlet of fur from her own apartment.

Sabbath evening she was with Darnley, conversing familiarly, while the enginery of death was in preparation below. Toward sunset of the holy day, Bothwell had assembled his accomplices, and assigned to each his part in the midnight close of a slow and cruel conspiracy. At ten o'clock the sacks of powder were carried from a secluded hall, in Holyrood Abbey, near Bothwell's lodgings, across the gardens by Wilson, Powrie, and Dalgleish, to Blackfriars Wynd; when Hay of Tallo, Hepburn, and Ormiston, receiving them, deposited the treasure of ruin, with the aid of Paris, in the Queen's chamber. When all was ready for the match, Paris went to the King's room, and the Queen, recollecting her promise to be present that night at a masquerade in the palace, in honor of the marriage of her servant Bastian, kissed the feverish lips of Darnley, and taking a tender adieu, has-

tened with her suite, including Bothwell, by the light of torches, to the festival. The King watched her receding form with melancholy sighs; and as silence settled ominously around him, Nelson, standing in the deserted hall, heard him repeat the 55th Psalm. By a singular coincidence, it was in the English evening service of that day. There was something startling and prophetic in these verses, which fell tremulously on the "electric air:"

"My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me.

"Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me.

"And I said, O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away, and be at rest.

. . . . . .

"It is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonor, for then I could have borne it.

"Neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me, for then peradventure I would have hid myself from him.

"But it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend."

After the excitement of awakened fear had subsided, the desolate invalid fell asleep, with Taylor, his young page, lying near him. Bothwell about midnight left the dance, and rejoined his associates. Doffing his elegant costume of black velvet and satin, for common apparel, he took Dalgleish, Paris, Wilson and Powrie, and descended cautiously into the Queen's garden, directing his steps toward the southern gate. The appearance of men along that unfrequented path, in the darkness of night, surprised the sentinels on guard, and the quick challenge was

given: "Who goes there?" "Friends!" answered Powrie. "Whose friends?" demanded the guards: "Friends of Lord Bothwell!" was the reply. Passing on, the conspirators found the Nether-bow gate, by which they intended to leave the city, shut. Wilson calling to Galloway, the gate-keeper, awoke him, and desired him to "open the port to friends of Lord Bothwell!" Galloway inquired what they were doing out of their beds at that hour of night. Without answering, they went on, and called for Ormiston, who had assisted in getting the powder. But upon reflection, apprehending personal danger, he had retired to bed, and refused to regard the summons of Bothwell. At Blackfriars Wynd, the earl, leaving his comrades, proceeded alone to Kirk of Field, to meet Hepburn, and Hay of Tallo, in Balfour's garden. These two faithful instruments of Bothwell just then entered, by the false keys, into Darnley's apartment. The noise startled the unquiet sleeper, and he sprang from his bed to escape. The messengers of death seized him, and in a moment he was gasping for life in their grasp. Having strangled the page in the same manner, the bodies were removed to an orchard not far distant. Hepburn then lighted the match, which ran to the gunpowder below, and with Bothwell, and Hay of Tallo, retired to see the explosion.

There those daring conspirators stood in the stillness of deepest night, the King's dying cries yet in their ears, for a quarter of an hour, when, with a terrific shock and noise, the house flew in fragments, leaving the body of Darnley unscathed and unbruised by the scattered wreck.

The bandits then went with speed to Edinburgh, Bothwell, failing on account of the arm maimed in fight, to climb as he expected over a broken rampart, was obliged again to awaken Galloway, and enter by Nether-bow gate. Upon approaching the palace, the sentinels challenged the murderers, but permitted them to pass. Bothwell went hurriedly to his chamber, drank wine to calm his agitation, and sought repose. His heart was still beating tumultuously, when Hacket, a servant, knocked abruptly at the door. It was opened, and he entered, the very ghost of terror. Bothwell, with great self-command, inquired what was the matter. Hacket answered: "The King's house is blown up, and I trow the King is slain." Bothwell started with apparent amazement, and shouted, "Treason!" Dressing himself, he was joined by Huntley, and they went to inform the Queen. The bold assassin then repaired with a band of soldiers to the place of his successful villainy. At daybreak, multitudes, called together by the explosion, and the tidings which followed swiftly, gathered around the demolished dwelling, and the ghastly forms of the King and his unoffending servant. Bothwell dispersed the wondering and indignant throng, and forbidding any examination of the bodies, ordered them taken to an adjacent house. The quick eye of the many observers, however, had noticed the absence of mutilation, and that not so much "as the smell of fire was on the garments" of the dead. Darnley was buried privately in the chapel of Holyrood. And now followed the fierce commotion in the world of thought. The moral atmosphere was surcharged with the elements of retribution, to fall erelong some-

where; and millions of minds at home and abroad were feeling for the fearful secret of guilt. It is impossible to escape the conviction that Mary was the responsible motive of Bothwell's ambition, as Darnley was the helpless sacrifice. She transmitted without delay a communication to the Archbishop of Glasgow, which certainly is marked with extraordinary coolness of narration:

"EDINBURGH, Feb. 10, 1567.

"Most Reverend Father in God, and trusted Counsellor, we greet you well:

"We have received this morning your letters of 27th January, by your servant, Robert Drury, containing in one part sic advertisement as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been *sic* as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived and put it in execution; and if God in his mercy had not preserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which, ere it shall remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is so horrible and strange, as we believe the like was never heard of in any country.

"This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the King was lodged was, in one instant, blown into the air, he lying asleep in his bed, with *sic* a vehemency that of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining; na, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away, or *dang* in dross to the very ground stone. It must be done by the force of gunpowder, and appears to have been a mine.

By whom it has been done, or in what manner, appears not yet.

"We doubt not, but according to the diligence our council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be *usit* shortly, and the same being discovered, which we *wot* God will not suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with *sic* rigor as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. Always whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was dressit as well for ourself as for the King, (for we lay for the most part of all last week in that same lodging, and was there accompanied with the most part of the lords that were in this town,) and that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night there by reason of some masks at the abbey (Holyrood): But we believe it was not chance but God, that put in our head.

"We dispatched this bearer upon the sudden; therefore write to you the more shortly. The rest of the letter we shall answer at more leisure, within four or five days, by your own servant. And so for the present we commit you to Almighty God."

Mary appeared crushed with sorrow, but it took the form of silent dejection. She displayed none of the laudable energy with which she hunted out the slayers of Rizzio. Returning to her chamber, she would see none but Bothwell. There is also the testimony recorded by Laing, given in subsequent trials before the judges, and upon the scaffold, by the *menials* in this murderous work. From the reconciliation with Darnley at Glasgow, there is a train of circumstantial evidence of Mary's complicity, more conclusive than

that which has consigned many a criminal to the executioner's axe. This conviction of her guilt at the tribunal of unbiased judgment, however reluctantly allowed, is only a single item of proof, darkening the historic annals of a fallen race, that intellect, beauty, and pride of place are no security against the insidious and destructive power of unsubdued selfishness, taking the descending channel of wild and stormy passion. Nothing but Christian humility and trust in an infinite Guide can save, amid strong temptations, immortality in a hovel or on a throne, from the strand of moral ruin.

CHAPTER V.

Mary, immediately after the horrors of the King's assassination, wrote the letter above quoted to Archbishop of Glasgow. It was left to her privy council, most of whom were actors in the regicide, and whose guiding genius was the remorseless Lethington, to inform the French court of what had occurred. After making a favorable impression on Catherine De Medici and her nobility, February 12th, she issued a proclamation, offering a reward of two thousand pounds to any one who would disclose the murderers of her husband, or give information which would lead to their detection. This was the signal for a public expression of popular feeling.

The convictions of hitherto silent observers of passing events, came to the surface with fearful distinctness and rapidity, as if past atonement were made for the painful and brief delay. The night after the royal proclamation, a paper was fastened on the door of Tolbooth, the common prison, branding Bothwell, James Balfour, and David Chambers, (a friend of the earl) as the guilty men. At dead of night, strange voices echoed the same charge on the quiet air along the streets of the capital. Placards added the names of the Queen's servants, Bastian, Rizzio's brother, and others, to the instruments of crime. Meanwhile, Mary not only neglected to arrest the less prominent conspirators, but, notwithstanding the ominous mur-

murs and printed tokens of indignant opinion around her palace, she was on terms of familiarity with Bothwell, the most suspicious and lawless noble in her realm. He followed her to the mansion of Lord Seton, where she went while the excitement of the masses was increasing every hour. But the Queen was not a monument of grief, nor active in the work of securing the criminals. Writes Tytler, who is an apologist for Mary: "It did not escape attention, that scarce two weeks after her husband's death, while in the country and in the city all were shocked at the late occurrences, and felt them as a stain on their national character, the court at Seton was occupied in gay amusements. Mary and Bothwell would shoot at the butts against Huntley and Seton; and on one occasion, after winning the match, they forced those lords to pay the forfeit in the shape of a dinner at Tranent."

Says Mignet: "While engaged in these recreations, Mary Stuart was besieged by the accusing distrust of her people, and the bitter complaints of the Earl of Lennox. At Edinburgh, which had been disturbed, on the fatal night of the 9th of February, by the band which had left Holyrood palace, reports were current which denounced by name the deviser of the assassination, and vaguely indicated his accomplices. A bill fastened on the Tron in the market-place declared that the smith who had furnished the false keys to the King's apartment would, on due security, come forward and point out his employers. Two new placards were also hung up, on one of which were written the Queen's initials, M. R., with a hand holding a sword; and on the other Bothwell, with a mallet

painted above, as having been an instrument with which the murder was committed. The whole city was in a state of extreme agitation. The Presbyterian ministers preached with sombre vehemence, calling on God 'to reveal and revenge.'

"The Queen was included in the suspicions of the populace, and the idea of her complicity daily gained ground. Bothwell became furious, and attempted to intimidate public opinion. Accompanied by fifty armed men, he rode into Edinburgh and publicly declared that if he knew who were the authors of the placard, he would 'wash his hands in their blood.' But, animated by suspicion as much as by anger, whenever he spoke to any one, of whose friendship he was not assured, he watched his movements with a jealous eye, and always kept his hand on the hilt of his dagger."

On the 20th of February, the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, who had waited vainly for decisive measures for the arrest and punishment of the conspirators, wrote Mary most earnestly, to delay no longer. He adds:

"I am forced by nature and duty to beseech your majesty most humbly, for God's cause, and the honor of your majesty, and this your realm, that your highness would, with convenient diligence, assemble the whole nobility and estates of your majesty's realm, and they, by your advice, to take such good order for the perfect trial of the matter, as I doubt not but, with the grace of Almighty God, his Holy Spirit shall so work upon the hearts of your majesty and all your faithful subjects, as the bloody and cruel actors of

this deed shall be manifestly known. And although I know I need not put your majesty in remembrance thereof, the matter touching your majesty so near as it does, yet I shall humbly desire your majesty to bear with me, in troubling your highness therein, being the father of him that is gone."

The Queen kindly responded, but adroitly passing by the main point, told him that the first business before her Parliament, already summoned, would be to press rigorously the investigation of "the King, her husband's cruel slaughter."

Meanwhile, her servants, who had been denounced, fled from the kingdom; Powrie and Wilson, at Bothwell's order, went to the Castle of Hermitage, on the English frontier; while the Earl of Lennox renewed his entreaties, urging that the deed of darkness was above the usual course of Parliamentary debate; "of such weight and importance, which ought rather to be with all expedition sought out and punished to the example of the whole world."

In regard to the placards to which Lennox alluded in his appeal, Mary said in reply, that while they were contradictory, "if there be any names mentioned in them that you think worthy to suffer a trial, upon your advertisement, we shall so proceed to the cognition taking as may stand with the laws of the realm; and being found culpable, shall see the punishment as vigorously executed, as the weight of the crime deserves."

Elizabeth was not an indifferent spectator of recent events. She sent a message by Sir Henry Killigrew,

which disclosed her suspicions and ripening dislike of Mary Stuart:

"Madam, my ears have been so astonished, and my mind so grieved, and my heart so terrified, at hearing the horrible sound of the abominable murder of your late husband and my deceased cousin, that I have even now no spirit to write about it; and although my natural feelings constrain me greatly to deplore his death, as he was so near a relation to me, nevertheless, boldly to tell you what I think, I cannot conceal from myself that I am more full of grief on your account than on his. O madam! I should not perform the part of a faithful cousin or an affectionate friend, if I studied rather to please your ears than to endeavor to preserve your honor; therefore I will not conceal from you what most persons say about the matter, namely, that you will look through your fingers at taking vengeance for this deed, and have no intention to touch those who have done you this kindness, as if the act would not have been perpetrated unless the murderers had received assurance of their impunity. Think of me, I beg you, who would not entertain such a thought in my heart for all the gold in the world. I exhort you, I advise and beseech you to take this thing so much to heart, as not to fear to bring to judgment the nearest relation you have, and to let no persuasion hinder you from manifesting to the world that you are a noble princess, and also a loyal wife."

In France the impression was spreading that Mary was guilty, and her reverend friend, the Archbishop

of Glasgow, implored her for her own sake, to visit the merited vengeance upon the heads of the regicides. But the weeks departed, and nothing was done by the Queen to vindicate her sullied honor.

She continued, without interruption, her intimacy with Bothwell, and lavished upon him royal favors. She gave him the command of the Castle of Edinburgh, and added other desirable seats to his possessions. Compelled at length, by the pressure of remonstrances and popular feeling, to abandon the posture of indifference, Mary called a council, of which Bothwell was a member, and with the consent of the nobles, decided to bring the earl to trial. With singular haste, she ordered Lennox to appear on the 12th of April, two weeks after the meeting of council, and sustain his accusations against Bothwell. Public rumor had singled out this daring favorite of Mary. No man was bold enough to testify in court to his criminality; he was no common adversary, and fear guarded his person, while scorn grew intense from the dread of his wrath.

The artizan who wrought the false keys to Darnley's chamber refused to reveal his knowledge of the conspiracy, because the security demanded was not furnished. Lennox urged that "the suspected persons continuing still at liberty, being great at court, and about your majesty's person, comforts and encourages them and theirs, and discourages all others that would give an evidence against them."

Elizabeth joined with the bereaved father, in advising the same measures, and sufficient time to procure evidence which would convict the guilty. Warning Mary of the universal abhorrence the unanswered

charge of so base a crime would kindle, she concludes, "And rather than this should happen to you, I would wish you an honorable burial more than a sullied life. I pray the Lord to inspire you to do what may most conduce to your honor and the consolation of your friends." There is, in this wise counsel, a dignified sense of queenly honor, and a real kindness, which soften the imperious nature of the masculine Elizabeth.

The infatuated Queen remained unmoved in her fidelity to the aspiring Bothwell, who was allowed to arrange the preliminaries of a mock trial. On April 12th, the day appointed, the assize opened at the Tolbooth, before a jury of noblemen, Bothwell's peers and partizans. The tribunal was presided over by one of the fautors of the murder, the Earl of Argyle, then hereditary lord high justice, and guarded by two hundred hackbutters; * while four thousand of Bothwell's armed adherents mustered in the streets and squares of Edinburgh. The law officers of the crown were either bribed or intimidated into silence; no witnesses were summoned. The accuser, the Earl of Lennox, who was on his road to the city, surrounded by a large force of his friends, received orders not to enter Edinburgh with more than six in his company, and he, therefore, declined to come forward in person. The accused, the Earl of Bothwell, presented himself before the court of justice with a confident and careless air. Mounted on the late King's favorite horse, and surrounded by guards, he was escorted to the

* The hackbut, or hagbut, was the primitive musket or arquebus. A hackbutter was a soldier armed with that weapon.

Tolbooth, with base obsequiousness, by a large number of gentlemen. As he passed before the Queen, who was standing with Lady Lethington, at one of the windows of Holyrood Palace, he turned towards her, and she gave him a friendly greeting for a farewell. She expressed her sympathy with his position even more publicly, by sending him, rather from impatience than anxiety, a token and message whilst he was before his judges.

The indefinite indictment, implicating Bothwell, was read in court; Lennox appeared by proxy, requesting farther delay; the crown lawyers were mute; the earl pleaded not guilty, and in the absence of all testimony, he was unanimously acquitted. Emboldened by the victory, he published a haughty challenge to any gentleman, who dared to whisper against him the accusation of murder, to meet him in private combat, and test with a duel their cause. The arrogant earl now swept opposition and rivalry from his path of bloody renown, as a hunted lion, whose pursuers are at bay, treads proudly on the crushed foliage of his forest lair, and in turn looks defiantly about him for prey. Mary created him high admiral, and lost no opportunity to increase his power and honors.

Lennox fled to England, and Murray to France.

Parliament assembled two days after the judicial farce, and Bothwell was chosen, by Mary, to bear the crown and sceptre before her, when she entered the hall to make her opening speech. The sentence of the jury was ratified by the estates of Scotland, and the friends of Bothwell were rewarded. The Queen, to please the earl and conciliate the Presbyterians,

abolished all statutes restricting the free enjoyment of divine worship according to the conscience of her Protestant subjects, and made provision for the poor clergy. But the stern Puritans were not so bribed, and maintained their attitude of condemnation of both herself, and the infamous noble, whose attentions to her were growing daily more offensive to her people. Even the market women would exclaim, as Mary passed, "God preserve your grace, if you are *sockless* * of the King's death."

Bothwell had reached an elevation, from which he gazed upward to the dazzling summit of his hopes, with but two intervening objects—his wife, and the young prince. A divorce would remove the first, and the second he believed would disappear after he had secured the hand of Mary. These vaulting deeds were anticipated by discerning observers. Bothwell's might and revenge prevented the utterance to the Queen of the distressful apprehension. Lord Herries, however, with great moral courage, traveled with the speed of a courier to Edinburgh, and besought her not to marry a man universally thought to be the assassin of the King. Mary affected surprise, and denied the story. Failing in his mission, Lord Herries hastened from the danger while in Bothwell's reach, and by relays of horses, escaped to his distant castle.

Melvil also mentioned the exciting subject to the Queen, who related the interview to Bothwell. The cautious Lethington apprised Melvil of his perilous loyalty, in the following conversation: "So soon as

* Innocent.

the Earl Bothwell gets word, as I fear he will, he will not fail to slay you. I pray you retire with diligence." "It is a sore matter," replied Melvil, "to see that good princess run to utter wreck, and nobody to forewarn her." "You have done more honestly than wisely," said Lethington.

Bothwell was enraged, and sought Melvil's life, who secreted himself until Mary had calmed his passions. The earl went fearlessly forward with his designs. On the 19th of April, when Parliament rose, he invited to a banquet the Earls of Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Cassilis, Glencairn, Rothes, Sutherland, Caithness, and Eglinton, with Lords Boyd, Seton, Sinclair, Semple, Oliphant, Oglivy, Ross, Haccat, Carlile, Hume, Inverneith, and others. Bothwell then informed the assembly, that, with the Queen's consent already given, he designed to marry her, and desired their assent.

The place of festivity was environed with armed men, to overawe the guests. There was a sudden change in the aspect of that brilliant array of nobility, and agitation was visible on all faces but the tyrant's, on whom they gazed with silent submission. The Earl of Eglinton, in the commotion of the succeeding moments, made his escape. The rest bowed to the dictation of the successful admirer of their Queen, and the jeweled crown she wore.

The memorial of the nobles, praying the Queen to marry Bothwell, after vindicating him in the Darnley affair, as a man "slandered by his evil willers and privy enemies;" and enumerating his ancient honors, closes with this passage:

"In moreover weighing and considering the time,

and present, and howe the Queen's Ma^tie^, our soveraigne, is now destitute of husband, in which solitary state the common weale of this our native country, may not permit her hignes always to remain and indure, but at sometime her highnes in appearance may be inclined to yield to the marriage; therefore, in case the affectionate and faithful service of the said Earl done to her Ma^tie^, prove true to him, and his other good qualities and behauiour may prove her Ma^tie^ safer to humble herself (as prefering one of her own borne subjects unto all foreign princes) to take to husband the said Earl B., and every one us of under subscribed, uppon our honours, truthe and fidelite oblige us, and permit not only advance and forthward the said marriage to be solemnized complete betwixt her highnes and the said noble Lord with our wittes, counsayle, fortificacon and assistance in worde and deede, at suche times as it shall please her Ma^tie^ to thinke, it convenient, and how soon the laws shall leave it to be done. But in case any would presume directly or indirectly, openly or under whatsoever colour or pretence, to hinder, hold back or disturb the said marriage, we shall in that behalf esteeme, hold and repute the hinderers and disturbers and adversaries thereof as comon enemies and evill willers, and, notwithstanding the same, take part and fortifie the said Erle to the said marriage as far as it please our said Soueraigne Ladie to allow, and therein shall . . and bestow our lives and goodes against all that live or die only. As we shall answer to God, and uppon our honor and fidelitie, and in case we doe the contrary never to have reputacion, honestie nor credit in our time hereafter, but he accompted unworthie faytheles

Traytours. In witness of the which we have subscribed these particulars with our handes as followeth. At Ed^g^ the xix of Aprile, the year of our God 1567 yeares.

"To this the Queene gave her consent the night before the marriage took place, which was the viii day of May the yeare of our God foresaid in this—.

"The Queen's Ma^tie^, having seen and considered the bond aboue written, promised in the name of a Prince that she uows her successors shall never impute as cryme nor offence to any of the persons subscribed thereof their submycon or consent given to the matter conteyned therein. Nor that they nor there heires shall never be called or . therefore. Nor yet shall the said consent or subscribing be any derogation or spott to their honour or they . . . undutiful subjects for doing thereof, notwithstanding whatsoever thing may . . . or be alleged on the contrary. In witnes whereof her Ma^tie^ hath subscribed the same with her own hand.

"The names of such of the Nobility as subscribed to the Bond, so far as John Read might remember, of whom I had this Copy being his own hand. Being commonly termed in Scotland Aynsters Supper.

The Erles of		Lords	
Murray	Morton	Boyd	Rosse
Argile	Sutherland	Seyton	Harris
Huntley	Rothis	Sinclair	Hume
Cassiles	Glencaren	Semple	Eumermeth
Cathnesse		Oliphant	Eglintoun sub-
		Oglivy	scribed not but slipped away.

Mary had given her signature to a promise of marriage, as follows:

"We, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, &c., promise faithfully, sincerely, and without constraint, James Hepburn, Earl of Boduil, never to have any other spouse and husband but him, and to take him for such whenever he shall require, in spite of the opposition of relation, friend, or any others; and as God has taken my late husband, Henry Stewart, called Darnley, and in consequence I am free, not being under the authority or either father or mother; I, therefore, protest that he, having the same liberty, I shall be ready to perform the ceremony requisite for marriage, which I promise him before God, whom I call you to witness, and the subjoined signature, by my hand, written this . . .

"Mary R."

Bothwell, in the meantime, began to exhibit his unrestrained temper in uncivil deportment towards Mary, and insisted on the substitution of his sister in the place of Lady Beres, the Queen's confidant. An extract from a letter to the earl will show the humiliating thraldom of her heart: "I will take such (servants) as shall content you for their conditions. I beseech you that an opinion of another person be not hurtful in your mind to my constancy. Mistrust me but when I will put you out of doubt, and clear myself. Refuse it not, my dear life, and suffer me to make you some proof by my obedience, my faithfulness, constancy, and voluntary subjection." Among

the secret letters of the silver casket,* whose authenticity, though denied by partizans of Mary, has not been disproved, was found a contract, dated a week before Bothwell's acquittal, signed by her, committing herself to the marriage. It was too recently that Darnley was buried to permit a wedding, and the only alternative was the resort to a *ruse*. It was arranged that the earl should intercept the Queen, upon her return from a visit to the prince at Stirling Castle, and with a superior force make her his captive.

This would afford an apology for submission, and *slope* the way to his feet, where she was panting to resign person and will to the embrace of her Moloch. Huntley, who was entrusted with the secret, used his persuasion to change her purpose. She immediately communicated her distrust of him to the earl. "He preached to me that it was a foolish enterprise, and

* These are known as the Casket Letters. The Earl of Bothwell, on leaving Edinburgh for the Borders, left in the hands of Balfour, a silver casket which Mary had brought with her from France. Among the writings found in this casket was evidence of Mary's plotting against the life of Elizabeth. The charge, by the partizans of Mary, that the letters were forged was an afterthought, as no such plea was made during the debate upon the question in Parliament. Froude says that, had they been able to prove forgery, or even plausibly to assert it, the whole of Europe would at once have been declared on Mary's side. See below, pp. 212–214.

On the other hand, Andrew Lang concludes a full discussion of the subject, in an article in Blackwood's Magazine for December, 1890, in these words: "I began this paper strong in the faith that the Casket Letters were genuine. I end it in doubt!" See also below, pp. 212–214. See also Dublin Review, 66 : 123.

that with mine honor I could never marry you seeing that being married you did carry me away, and that his folks would not suffer it, and that the lords would unsay themselves, and would deny that they had said. I told him that, seeing I was come so far, if you did not withdraw yourself of yourself, that no persuasion, nor death itself, should make me fail of my promise."

Again she addresses him on the subject of the abduction with enthusiasm: "As for the handling of myself, I heard it once well devised. Methinks that your services and long friendship, having the good will of the lords, do well deserve a pardon, if above the duty of a subject you advance yourself, not to constrain me, but to assure yourself of such high place nigh unto me, that other admonitions, or foreign persuasions may not let (hinder) me from consenting to that that you hope your service shall make you one day to attain; and to be short, to make yourself sure of the lords, and free to marry; and that you are constrained for your safety, and to be able to serve me faithfully, to use an humble request, joined to an importunate action."

There were unforseen obstacles to the success of the stratagem, which appeared as the time appointed approached. The Earl of Sutherland declared that death was preferable to the Queen's capture while under his protection; and Huntley was fearful of being accused of infidelity and treachery in the adventure. Mary apprized Bothwell of these annoyances, and concludes:

"I have thought good to advertise you of the fear he hath, that he should be charged and accused of

treason, to the end that, without mistrusting him, you may be the more circumspect, and that you may have the more power; for we had yesterday more than three hundred horse of his and of Livingston's. For the honor of God be accompanied rather with more than less; for that is the principal of my care."

April 21st, 1567, Mary Stuart proceeded to Stirling Castle. The Earl of Mar, who had charge of young James, from some suspicion, refused admission to more than two ladies with the Queen, into the royal apartment. The 24th she left Stirling for Edinburgh, and at Almond Bridge was met by Bothwell's force of six hundred horsemen. He seized Mary's horse by the bridle, and led her, without conflict, to his Castle of Dunbar. Huntley, Melvil, and Lethington were taken with her into captivity. When Melvil complained of the rude treatment, Captain Blacater replied that it was with the Queen's consent. This royal and romantic *forage* of the earl was the first act in the drama of guilty and suicidal passion; the next was the divorce of Lady Jane Gordon, Bothwell's wife. The Archbishop of St. Andrews was bribed to give the sentence of his court favorably; and on the 3d of May, the Catholic church, in behalf of Mary, and the Presbyterian church for the Protestant earl, declared the sentence of divorce.

The same day the Queen returned to Edinburgh, with her accustomed cheerfulness and pageantry. When she came to the gates of the city, Bothwell, with great respect, laid his hand on the bridle of Mary's horse, and his soldiers then threw down their spears, as the signal that their sovereign was not only free, but her lover was no more than a humble, un-

protected servant of her majesty. The Queen expressed publicly her unconditional pardon of Bothwell, and her determination to marry him. Notwithstanding the universal anticipation of the event, the distinct avowal of it by Mary Stuart sent a wave of burning indignation over the realm. When the order to publish the bans of marriage was sent to the Reformed church, there was a prompt and spirited refusal. Knox was in England; Craig, his representative, gave the reason, that the Queen had not transmitted a written command. The justice clerk immediately furnished the paper, and Craig desired to meet the privy council. This was granted; and when the fearless man of God confronted Bothwell, it was like the meeting of the Hebrew prophet and Ahab, while the sanguinary monarch quailed before the fiery denunciations of the untremulous reprover. He charged home upon the astonished noble his crimes, and set before him "righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come." Having cleared his conscience, he read in the sanctuary the hated bans, and added: "I take heaven and earth to witness, that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world, and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Unmoved in her delirium of love by outward commotion, Mary, on the 12th of May, appeared in the High Court of Edinburgh, and made a declaration of her entire reconciliation to Bothwell, and her intention to increase his honors. He was made Duke of Orkney and Shetland, receiving the coronet from the

hand of the Queen. Two days later, she signed the marriage contract; and the next morning at 4 o'clock the nuptials were celebrated in Holyrood Palace according to Catholic form, and in the Protestant church by Bishop of Orkney. The attendance of the nobility was small, and there was in the event, instead of joy heralding future good to the popular mind, something deeply ominous of coming evil. The tidings spread with the morning light, like a political and moral eclipse, darkening the land. On the palace gates was found this significant line from Ovid:

"Mense malas maio nubere vulgus ait."

It is not strange that with such tokens, an unholy alliance, consummated within three months after Darnley's death, the wedding day should be distinguished by a domestic quarrel. De Croc wrote to Catherine and Charles IX., of France, on the revolting affair:

"Your majesties could not do better than be very displeased with the marriage, for it is a very unfortunate one, and already is repented of. On Thursday (May 15th) her majesty sent for me to inquire whether I had perceived any strangeness between her and her husband; which she wished to excuse to me, saying, that if I saw she was sorrowful, it was because she would not rejoice, as she says she never will again, and desires only death. Yesterday (May 16th) being both in a closet with the Earl of Bothwell, she called out aloud for some one to give her a knife that she might kill herself. Those who were in the adjoin-

ing room heard her. They think that unless God aids her, she will fall into despair."

The storm passed, and Mary dispatched ambassadors to foreign courts to obtain their recognition of Bothwell as her lawful husband. She affirmed that her nobility urged the marriage, and the brilliant qualities of the faithful lord entitled him to the distinction. Apologizing for Bothwell's violence, she directed the Bishop of Dumblane, commissioned to France and Rome, to add that the civil commotions in her kingdom made an alliance with a foreign prince impossible, while among her own subjects the Earl of Bothwell was prominent, incomparably so, in wisdom, heroism, and ancestral honors. She therefore yielded without repugnance to the wish of the three estates of her realm. Melvil, who went to the court of Elizabeth, was to offer Bothwell's acquittal in reply to the suspicion of his connection with Darnley's murder, and his legal divorce, in answer to the charge of marrying while another wife was living.

Bothwell wrote to the Queen of England in a royal strain. He said: "Men of greater birth might have been preferred to the high station I now occupy, but none could have been chosen more zealous for the preservation of your majesty's friendship, of which you shall have experience at any time it may be your pleasure to employ me." Having gathered into his hands the reins of authority in Scotland, he anticipated quick success in the endeavor to gain the favor of the adjacent powers. But beneath this apparent calm, were dark and turbulent elements of retribu-

tion. The triumphs of lawless affection and advancing greatness were like the delusive tranquillity and glare of a torrid day, when it is the prelude to an earthquake's desolating march. A league, dating back before the marriage of Mary, had bound together in confederation against Bothwell, the principal nobles of Scotland. And now that Bothwell aspired to remove the prince from his path of homicidal glory, and the might to do it was already in his grasp, the slumbering rebellion awoke. It was the ripe harvest of embittered feeling which the Laird of Grange had expressed in a communication to Earl of Bedford, about the time of Mary's seizure by Bothwell: "This Queen will never cease unto such time as she have wrecked all the honest men of this realm. She was minded to cause Bothwell to ravish (seize) her, to the end that she may the sooner end the marriage which she promised before she caused Bothwell to murder her husband. There is many that would revenge the murder, but they fear your mistress. I am so suited for to enterprize the revenge, that I must either take it upon hand, or else I must leave the country, the which I am determined to do, if I can obtain license. I pray your lordship, let me know what your mistress will do, for if we will seek France, we may find favor at their hands." In a letter addressed a few days later to Bedford, he gives an outline of the proposed campaign:

"The heads that presently they agreed upon, is, first, to seek the liberty of the Queen, who is ravished and detained by the Earl of Bothwell, who was the ravisher, and hath the strengths, munitions and

men of war at his commandment. The next head is, the preservation and keeping of the prince. The third is, to pursue them that murdered the King. For the pursuit of these three heads, they have promised to bestow their lives, lands and goods. And to that effect their lordships have desired me to write unto your lordship, to the end they might have your sovereign's aid and support for suppressing of the cruel murderer, Bothwell, who, at the Queen's last being in Stirling, suborned certain to have poisoned the prince; for that barbarous tyrant is not contented to have murdered the father, but he would also cut off the son, for fear that he hath to be punished hereafter. The names of the lords that convened in Stirling was the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Athol, and Mar. . . . . There is to be joined with the four forenamed lords, the Earls of Glencairn, Cassilis, Eglinton, Montrose, Caithness; the Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glammis, Innermeith, Lindsay, Hume and Herries."

As an index of the prevalent disaffection, there is the fact of Melvil's connection with the civil outbreak, who was Mary's favorite, and minister to England just before the open revolt. He united his appeal with the lairds to Elizabeth, for aid in avenging the King's death, and touched a chord of anxious interest, by intimating that France would come to their help, if she refused.

In the secret instructions of Charles IX. to De Croc, we have a glimpse of Mary's reputation in his court, and his purpose, rather than let Scotland be absorbed by England, to desert the Queen, and assist

the rebellious nobles. "The said Sieur de Villeroy will say, that his majesty having made known to him the opinion which he entertains of the pitiable success of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, seeing what has been written to him of her behavior by the said Sieur de Croc, and the strange news which he has received from other quarters; and being also concerned that the enterprise of the said lords is secretly assisted and favored by the English—whose charity would only entail their ruin—the King wishes the said Sieur de Croc to know, that the desire and principal intention of his majesty is to keep the kingdom of Scotland in its attachment to himself, without permitting it, under the pretext of the many follies which are committed, to rebel and alienate itself from its attachment to himself, as it is certain it would do toward the said English, whom the said lords would seek as their protectors in this affair, if they saw they would have no assurance from the King."

De Croc accordingly offered men and munitions of war to the revolutionary party, who also sought the favor of Elizabeth. Her policy fluctuated between her cherished opposition to the rebellion of subjects against their prince, and her apprehension of French influence and strength in Scotland. She abhorred civil revolt, but she feared France more; and Melvil received intimations that the confederates might anticipate aid from the Queen of England.

Although the forces of the nobility augmented daily, Mary was fearless, in her ignorance of their movements, of impending danger. Bothwell, by an attempt to assassinate Lethington, had driven him to the protection of his friend, the Earl of Athol, where

he planned the furtherance of the formidable league. Meanwhile, the demand was made by the successor of Darnley, for the control of young James. The Earl of Mar, his guardian, refused, unless the prince were placed in Edinburgh Castle, under the care of an honorable, irreproachable governor. But this ambitious design was checked by the distinct tokens of battle. Mary was at Borthwick Castle, ten miles from the capital, whither she went to escape the troubled atmosphere of her follies. The nobles had disregarded her summons to engage in a campaign to the frontier, under the command of Bothwell; and he hastened in alarm to the Queen. Barely had he arrived, when the Earls of Morton, Montrose, and others, leading an army of ten thousand horsemen, marched toward Borthwick Castle. Lord Hume pressed on in advance of the main force, with eight hundred men, to seize Bothwell by surprise. He had, however, escaped and on the 10th of June, Mary, disguised in male apparel, under cover of darkness, fled on horseback, and rejoining Bothwell a few miles distant, rode with him to his Castle of Dunbar, which they entered at three o'clock in the morning, fully conscious that something more than royal pastime was before them. The revolutionists, thwarted in their first bold push to the enclosure of sovereignty, moved down upon Edinburgh. Along the line of march additions were made to their ranks, until, when, on the 11th of June, they arrived at the metropolis, they numbered three thousand armed soldiers. The citizens proclaimed their adherence to the cause of the confederates.

James Balfour, who had been left by Bothwell in

command of the castle, instead of directing his ordnance against the rebels, signified his willingness to enter the league. Immediately, the triumphant invaders issued the following proclamation:

"That whereas, the Queen's majesty, being detained in captivity, was neither able to govern her realm, nor try the murder of her husband, we of the nobility and council command all the subjects, specially the burghers of Edinburgh, to assist the said noblemen and council in delivering the Queen and preserving the prince, and in trying and punishing the King's murderers. And we command the lords of session, commissaries, and all other judges, to sit and do justice according to the laws of this realm, notwithstanding any tumult that may arise in the time of this enterprise; with certification to all who shall be found acting contrary to these proceedings, that they shall be reputed as fautors of the said murder, and punished as traitors."

The order was then given to march against Bothwell, who was charged with violence toward the Queen, an unlawful marriage, murder, and designs upon the prince royal. In two days, Mary and Bothwell had gathered twenty-five hundred men, and left Dunbar on the 14th of June, reaching, the next day, Gladsmoor, when the Queen made to her diminutive army the following address:

"That a number of conspirators, having discovered the latest motive, borne to her and the Duke of Orkney, her husband, after they had failed in apprehend-

ing their persons at Borthwick, had made a seditious proclamation to make the people believe that they did seek the revenge of the murder of the King, her late husband, and the relieving of herself out of bondage and captivity, pretending that the duke, her husband, was minded to invade the prince, her son; all which were false and forged inventions, none having better cause to revenge the King's death than herself, if she could know the authors thereof. And for the duke, her present husband, he had used all means to clear his innocence, the ordinary justice had absolved him, and the estates of Parliament approved their proceedings, which they themselves that made the present insurrection had likewise allowed. As, also, he had offered to maintain that quarrel against any gentleman on earth undefamed, than which nothing more could be required. And as to her alleged captivity, the contrary was known to the whole subjects, her marriage with him being publicly contracted and solemnized, with their own consents, as their hand-writs could testify. Albeit, to give their treason a fair show, they made now a buckler of the prince, her son, being an infant, and in their hands; whereas their intention only was to overthrow her and her posterity, that they might rule all things at their pleasure, and without controlment."

With promises of reward for loyalty, the Queen rode forward beneath the folds of the royal standard attired in a red dress, which reached only to her knees. She reached Carberry Hill, six miles from the capital, and took her position. The hostile army, having heard of her progress, hastened before the

break of day, Sunday morning, toward the entrenchments of their beautiful and resolute sovereign. On one of their banners was pictured the slain Darnley, lying beneath the tree where he was found, with the prince kneeling beside the ghastly form, and under the exciting scene was the motto, "*Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!*" The flaunting colors sent a thrill of fearful enthusiasm through the ranks, and visibly moved the populace. The insurgents threw up their fortifications on the heights of Musselburgh, about a mile from Carberry Hill. A little stream ran between the foes, who lay in full view of each other. Not greatly unequal in numbers, they were more widely different in character and feeling. The nobility and the ardor were both against Mary Stuart. There was along the lines of the confederates, where shone the badges of haughty earls and powerful barons, a furnace-glow of revenge—a panting to punish murder, and subdue a scorned usurper.

At this crisis, De Croc, the French ambassador, endeavored, in the name of Charles, his king, to conciliate the parties, and save a bloody conflict. The lords offered to withdraw from the battle-field, if the Queen would at once and forever separate herself from the odious Bothwell. They offered further, to meet him in single combat, according to his former challenge, if he would come forth between the armies. De Croc unwillingly bore the terms of loyalty to Mary. He crossed the valley, and found the Queen sitting on a green mound, her features kindling with determination and hope. After the usual salutations, he began by representing the nobles as still her true, though offended subjects, when Mary interrupted

with these words: "They show their affection very ill, by running counter to what they have signed, and by accusing the man whom they acquitted, and to whom they married me."

She expressed a readiness to receive them upon dutiful submission. "At this moment Bothwell came up. 'Is it of me that they complain?' he said to De Croc, in a voice loud enough to be heard by his army. 'I have just been speaking to them,' replied De Croc as loudly, 'and they have assured me that they are the Queen's very humble subjects and servants; and your mortal enemies,' he added in a lower tone, 'since you will know it.' 'What have I done to them?' answered Bothwell in the same tone, as if desirous to communicate his own assurance to those who heard him, and did not feel so bold as himself. 'I have never caused displeasure to a single one of them; on the contrary, I have sought to consult them all. What they are doing is out of envy for my greatness. Fortune is free to any who can receive her; and there is not a man among them who would not like to be in my place.' He then proposed, in order to prevent bloodshed, to fight between the two armies, although he had had the honor to espouse the Queen, any of his enemies who might leave their ranks, provided he were a gentleman. The Queen opposed this proposition, saying that she would not allow anything of the kind, and that his quarrel was hers also."

By this time, the army in rebellion had passed the stream, and Bothwell retired to join his standard, and De Croc went to Morton and Glencairn, with the offer of pardon, if they would obey their Queen. "We have not come here," said Glencairn, "to solicit par-

don for ourselves, but rather to give it to those who have offended." "We are in arms," added Morton, "not against the Queen, but against the Duke of Orkney, the murderer of her husband. Let him be delivered up, or let her majesty remove him from her company, and we shall yield her obedience."

Donning their casques, they ended the parley, and De Croc repaired to Edinburgh. Each army, according to usage, dismounted, and prepared to fight on foot. The royal force were irresolute, and demanded a personal combat between Bothwell and a champion from the enemy. The daring duke consented. Mary was compelled to submit, because her ranks were failing. After rejecting the Laird of Tullibardine on account of inferior rank, Bothwell selected Morton, who immediately prepared to contend with two-handed swords. Lindsay demanded the honor, as a servant of the assassinated King, and kneeling in view of the whole army, prayed in a clear voice for strength to vanquish his guilty foe. While Mary was hesitating whether to permit the duel, her soldiers were deserting; a detachment of confederates had swept around the hill, cutting off the possibility of Bothwell's retreat toward Dunbar. Mary yielded to the emergency, and consented to dismiss the duke, her husband, and attend the insurgents to the capital, on the terms of his safe return to Dunbar, and their renewed obedience. Then followed a brief and affecting interview between Mary and Bothwell on Carberry Hill. Mutual pledges of fidelity were given, and mounting his horse in company with a few friends, he rode fleetly toward his castle. The separation, though neither knew it, was final. Sorrow-

fully, yet confidingly, Mary approached the Laird of Grange, who had hemmed in Bothwell just before by his military manœuvre, and extending her delicate hand, which he kissed, submitted to his guidance. He took the bridle of her horse and conducted her into the bosom of the opposing army. They reverently received the Queen, who said:

"My lords, I am come to you, not out of any fear I had of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory, if matters had gone to the worst; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are my own subjects; and therefore I yield to you, and will be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born princess and Queen."

The utterance of attachment to her, the condemnation of Bothwell, and insults of the common soldiery, were the commingling voices that fell upon her ear. But it was soon apparent that professions of obedience were like "the morning cloud and early dew."

"The march commenced; from the Queen's manner, it was supposed she anticipated a rescue, and in reality a party composed of the Hamiltons had advanced for that purpose, but she was soon convinced her expectations were hopeless. When she approached the capital, a new trial awaited her, and she beheld the multitude poured forth, not to relieve or even to commiserate her distresses, but to display before her eyes a bloody ensign, on which was represented the young prince, kneeling and invoking vengeance on the authors of his father's murder. At this frightful image, Mary almost fell from her horse, and, bursting into an agony of tears, exclaimed,—'I am

your native princess! descended from the blood of Bruce! Treat me not thus!" Her appeal was unregarded. Even in the women,—her disheveled hair, her tears, her anguish, awakened no pity; and she proceeded, amidst loud execrations, till she reached the provost's house, where she was lodged for that night."

The hours of darkness were devoted to lamentations—cries for help—and piteous expressions of despair. In the morning, the barbarous soldiery waved before her window the tragic flag; when Mary raved like a lunatic, and with disheveled and neglected apparel, begged in the name of God for deliverance. The lords partially calmed her excitement with intimations of restoration to Holyrood and liberty. But her unalterable devotion to Bothwell, displayed in conversation and communications, affirmed to have been sent to him at Dunbar, through a bribed messenger, decided her captors to run no farther hazard of war, and their own remorseless execution. At eight o'clock in the evening, Mary was removed to Holyrood Palace, escorted by three hundred hackbutters. The lords then sat in council, and made out the order for her imprisonment. They set forth the necessity of taking arms; her surrender; and Bothwell's flight; adding, "after they had opened and declared unto her highness her own estate and condition, and the miserable estate of their realm, with the danger that her dearest son, the prince, stood in, requiring that she would suffer and command the said murder and authors thereof to be punished, they found in her majesty such untowardness and repugnance thereto, that rather she appeared to fortify and

maintain the said Earl Bothwell and his accomplices in the said wicked crimes, nor to suffer justice to pass forward; whereby, if her highness should be left in that state, to follow her own inordinate passion, it would not fail to succeed to the final confusion and extermination of the whole realm. So that, after mature consultation, by common advice, it is thought convenient, concluded and decreed, that her majesty's person be sequestered from all society of the said Earl Bothwell, and from all having of intelligence with him or any others, whereby he may have any comfort to escape due punishment for his demerits. And finding no place more meet or commodious for her majesty to remain in than the house and place of Lochleven, ordains, commands, and charges Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, William Lord Ruthven, and William Douglas of Lochleven, to pass and convoy her majesty to the said place of Lochleven, and the said lords to receive her therein, and there they are every one of them to keep her majesty surely, within the said place, and in nowise to suffer her to pass forth of the same, or to have intelligence from any manner of persons, or yet to send advertisements or directions for intelligence with any living persons, except in their own presence and audience, or by the commandments and directions of the lords under subscribing, or part of them representing the council at Edinburgh, or otherwise where they shall resort for the time, as they will answer to God, and upon their duty, to the commonweal of this country, keeping these presents for their warrant!"

In the night of June 10th, Mary, without a ret-

inue, "mounted on a sorry hackney," attired in coarse cassock, and guarded by the savage Ruthven and Lindsay, entered Lochleven Castle. This fortress lies north of Edinburgh, on a small island in the middle of the lake. The buildings covered nearly half of the land, and on three sides the waters laved the naked walls. The remaining side had a garden to relieve the view. The deep basement was a dungeon for solitary imprisonment. The only entrance to the square tower, which was the family residence, was through a window in the second story, by a ladder, raised and lowered with a chain. Mary was confined in an octagonal tower at one corner of the massive pile. The distance to the shore was half a mile. The castle was owned by William Douglas, half brother of Murray, whose mother, Margaret Erskine, formerly mistress of James V., Mary Stuart's father, was the Queen's mortal enemy. She was the wreck of a beauty, and proud as a Roman in her old age, boasting that her son, born of King James, was lawful heir to the throne of Scotland. She also embraced the extreme view of the Puritans, and became an intolerant partizan. To her tender mercies Mary was committed. The captivity of a sovereign to her subjects was a novel and startling event. While Europe had been the arena of revolutionary conflicts, till these games of oppressive, unprincipled monarchs, and the outraged masses, were familiar horrors, this sacrilegious invasion of the royal prerogative was an alarming precedent. But such was the loss of popular interest in Mary at home, that the timorous friends of the Queen were quite indifferent to her fate. Philip of Spain was busy with a revolt in

Netherlands; and Elizabeth only, to the surrounding monarchs, gave token of decided solicitude in the issue of the daring arrest. She was indignant at the lawlessness of the rebels in the confinement of Mary's person; yet she feared the captive as a rival. And while she sent a letter of condolence to the prisoner of Lochleven, another conveyed her sympathy and offers of support to the insurgents. Poor Mary! Deserted and environed with gloomy walls that were washed with lonely waters; watched by Elizabeth, whose imperious gaze was always resting on the aspiring daughter of Stuart; and, worse than a widow —what hours of reflection were hers! But ambition ruled *the woman,* and she was unchastened with the satire which the tragical romance of her fate made upon human greatness.

CHAPTER VI.

On the 20th of June, Mary's peril was greatly increased by circumstances which are related by Mignet: "George Dalgleish, Bothwell's chamberlain, had been arrested with a casket which he was, doubtless, conveying to Dunbar, and which contained some private papers that furnished decided proofs of Mary's guilt. This casket was made of silver, overgilt with gold, and surmounted with the cypher of Francis II., who had given it to Mary. Mary, in her turn, had given it to Bothwell, who had inclosed in it some letters which she had written to him in her own handwriting, both before and after the murder of the King, some sonnets breathing the most passionate affection for him, and a contract of marriage which she had signed some time before the premeditated surprise at Almond Bridge.* Bothwell had, doubtless,

* "Ane silver-box owergilt with gold, with all missive letteris, contractis or obligationis, for marriage-sonetis or luifballetis, and all utheris letteris contenit thairin, send and past betwixt the Quene, our said Soverane Lordis moder, and James, sumtyme Erle Bothuile, quhilk box and haill pieces within the samyn were takin and fund with umquhill George Dangleisch, servand to the Erle Bothuile, upon the xx day of June, the zeir of God, 1567 zeiris." Discharge to my Lord Morton, given on the 16th of September, 1568, by Murray to Morton, (who, ever since the 22d of June, 1567, had kept pos-

preserved these papers as guarantees against the possible inconstancy of the Queen. He had left the casket in Edinburgh Castle, under the care of two of his accomplices, George Dalgleish and James Balfour. Either by chance, or by the perfidy of the odious Balfour,* who, like many others, had joined the confederacy under the pretext of punishing a crime to which he had been a party, Dalgleish had been seized, and the papers secured. Powrie, Bothwell's porter, met the same fate. When examined before a court of justice on the 23d and 26th of June, they had both confessed how the plot against the King's life had been contrived and executed. The depositions of these two servants of Bothwell had furnished a surer basis for the prosecution of that great criminal; and the lords of the secret council commanded that he should be seized in his Castle of Dunbar, and conducted to Edinburgh, to be punished as the murderer of the King. But whilst the confessions of Powrie and Dalgleish placed Bothwell's culpability beyond

session of the silver box,) in presence of Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, the Commendator of Dunfermline, the Commendator of Salmerinoch, Mr. Secretary Lethington, the Justice Clerk, and Master Henry Balnaves. See Keith, Appendix, p. 140. In a letter from Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, dated Edinburgh, 25th July, 1567, allusion is made to the discovery of these papers in the following terms: "They mean to charge her with the murder of her husband, whereof they say they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well *by testimony of her own handwriting, which they have recovered*, as also by sufficient witnesses." (See *Keith, p.* 426.)

* "Bothwell sent a servant to Sir James Balfour to save a little silver cabinet which the Queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the messenger, and

doubt, the papers found in the silver casket furnished terrible weapons against the Queen to those who wished to accuse and destroy her." *

under-hand, giveth advice of it to the lords. In this cabinet had Bothwell kept the letters of privacy he had from the Queen; thus he kept her letters to be an awe-bond upon her, in case her affections should change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the Queen and Bothwell were clearly discovered. These letters were after printed; they were in French, with some sonnets of her own making.' (KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., p. 562.)

* The annexed note gives a strong and interesting denial of the genuineness of the letters in the casket:

"It is, forsooth, a boxe of letters taken from one Daighleysh, who was executed for the Lorde Darnley's death, the Earles man, for sooth; whiche letters he received at Edenborough of one Sir James Balfoure, to convey to his master; Thus say they, but we say to you, as is sayd in Terrence, Non sunt hæc satis divisa temporibus. The very time, if nothing else were, bewraieth you, and your whole cause withal. Is it to be thought, that either the Earle would send to the said Sir James, who had before assisted the faction against the Quene with the force and strength of Edenborough Castle, and driven from thence the very Earle himselfe, or that the said Sir James would send any such thing to the Earle? is it likely? is it credible? Had the forger and inventour of this tale, by seemely conveyance parted and divided the distinction of his times? How say ye? Whereas nowe it is in no case to be supposed or conjectured that such a wise vertuous ladie would sende any such letters; yet putting the case, that she had sent them, it is not to be thought, that either the receaver thereof, or that she herselfe, whom ye conceave to have sent them, would have suffered them, for the hasarding of her estimation and honour, to remaine undefaced, namely, seeing there was a special mention made, and warning given forthwith to burn them." (LESLEY'S *Defence of Queen Mary's Honour*; ANDERSON'S *Collections*, vol. i.)

At this exciting juncture, Melvil arrived, and saw Mary, in the presence of Lindsay and Ruthven, who complained in her unshaken confidence toward her tried servant, that they were not allowed a private interview. Melvil was not a treacherous man, but his sympathies for distracted Scotland evidently led him to the standard of revolt; he expected no deliverance from thickening distress, under the reign of the Queen. Soon after this mission, Elizabeth dispatched Throckmorton, to confer with the nobles in regard to Mary's liberation and conditional restoration to her throne. The situation of the Queen of England was exceedingly delicate and difficult. Mary had asserted her right to the sceptre of Britain, and there were princes ready to sustain the claim, when the opportunity appeared. France and Spain were waiting to snatch the favorable turn to civil commotion, to advance the cause of papal Rome.

To dispose of the royal captive was not an easy act of sovereign interposition. If restored to the realm in rebellion, an invincible army must be her train; if permitted to revisit France, it would give the Catholic cause a mighty advantage. The gifted and determined prisoner was no imaginary rival. And yet Elizabeth was so thoroughly a monarchist, that she hated insurrection, even by an abused and oppressed people. Her proposals, in the conflicting appeals to her power, were, after rebuking the Queen for her marriage of Bothwell, and the nobles for disloyalty: that Mary be divorced, and enthroned; that the abandoned duke and his associates be punished; "that the Castles of Dunbar and Dumbarton should be entrusted to the keeping of those nobles who were

hostile to Bothwell; that a Parliament should be assembled, which should appoint the wardens of the marches, and the governors of Edinburgh, Stirling, Inchkeith, and the other strongholds of the kingdom; that a great council should be established, at which five or six of its members should always be present, without whose advice and consent the Queen should be unable to pass any act or make any appointment; and, finally, that a general amnesty should be proclaimed."

Lethington, Melvil and Lord Hume, instead of acceding to the views of Elizabeth, emphatically accused her of political indecision, and a vacillating policy, which would soon be the ruin of the kingdom, if Mary were invested with authority. John Knox, who had returned, upon learning of the Queen's imprisonment, pledged to the dominant party the entire support of the Presbyterians, if they would ratify the statutes of 1560, which Mary had refused to sanction. The offer was accepted, and the last remnant of Popery was doomed, by the new order of things, to extinction; and the Protestant faith was made the religion of all the universities and public schools. The young prince was to have a Puritan education; and, "to maintain the true religion now professed in the kirk of Scotland, and suppress all things contrary to it," was added to the coronation oath. The Reformers advocated the moral equality of Christians, and denied the inviolability of kings; and referred for precept and examples to the Bible. Knox openly denounced the Queen, and Buchanan affirmed that insubordination was the right of the people, when the crimes of the sovereign furnished the occasion. These

opinions, maintained by men of intellect and severe morality, and sharpened with conscientious hostility to the Catholic dogmas, penetrated the common mind, and carried their less thoughtful advocates into the extremes of cruel fanaticism. The church presented a formal request that the late King's death might be avenged, "according to the laws of God, according to the practices of their own realm, and according to the laws which they call *jus gentium,* without respect of any person." Some of the lords dissented from the summary view, and demanded only Mary's divorce from Bothwell, and her return to the regal palace. Others wished to restore her to liberty, and requiring her abdication in favor of James, compel her to retire to France. While a third faction loudly urged that the Queen should be tried for murder, dethroned publicly, and confined in perpetual captivity. July 8th and 15th, Melvil visited Mary in prison, to negotiate, if possible, a divorce. But she was deaf to his importunity, and assured him that she would sooner sacrifice her throne than Bothwell. It was a fatal infatuation, that rendered Mary Stuart, amid all her augmenting dangers, and the counsel of England, France, and private advisers, unapproachable on the subject of abandoning Bothwell, who had already brought her to the dizzy margin of hopeless overthrow.

"The Queen's obstinate determination not to desert Bothwell alarmed and irritated the lords of the secret council. They resolved to preclude the possibility of her doing them any future injury, by deposing her. This deposition was prepared under the form of a voluntary abdication, which would deprive

her of power without degrading her. Three acts were accordingly drawn up for Mary Stuart's signature. By the first, she renounced the government of the kingdom, declaring it was a burden of which she was weary, and which she no longer had strength or will to bear; and authorized the immediate coronation of her son. The second and third conferred the regency on the Earl of Murray, during the minority of the young King; and appointed the Duke of Chatellerault, with the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Morton, Athol, Glencairn, and Mar, regents of the kingdom till the return of Murray from France, with power to continue in that high office, if he refused it. In case Mary Stuart should refuse to sign these acts, the assembled lords had determined to prosecute and condemn her for these three crimes—'First, for breach and violation of their laws; secondly, for incontinency as well with the Earl Bothwell, as with others; and thirdly, for the murder of her husband, whereof, they say, they have as apparent proof against her as may be, as well by the testimony of her own handwriting, as also by sufficient witnesses.'

"On the morning of the 25th of July, the ferocious Lindsay, and the insinuating Melvil, left Edinburgh on their way to Lochleven.* One was the bearer of the three acts which were to strip her of her authority; the other was directed to warn the Queen of the dangers to which she would expose herself by refusing to sign them. Melvil saw her first,

* Lochleven is a small lake in the county of Kinross, about twenty miles northwest of Edinburgh. The castle in which Mary was confined is on a small island near the town of Kinross.

and told her all. That a public trial would be substituted for an abdication, that the hostility of the lords towards her would become implacable, that her defamation would be certain and the loss of her crown inevitable, and that her life would probably be endangered, were some of the consequences which Melvil assured Mary Stuart would result from refusal; whilst he did not fail to insinuate on the other hand, that any deed signed in captivity and under fear of death would be invalid."

Mary was unyielding, though agitated with conflicting emotions of hope and despondency, when the stern Lindsay entered, with the acts of the secret council. The terror of his presence decided the hesitating Queen. Her eyes were suffused with tears, and, with a tremulous hand, she signed the papers. Lindsay then demanded from Thomas Sinclair the privy seal, and the work was finished. On the 29th of July, the nobles gathered at Stirling to crown the prince royal. The Hamiltons, who were a strong faction, opposed the coronation, and had resolved to deliver the Queen. Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, refrained from the shadow of approval, and admonished the lords to take no rash measures. He awaited his sovereign's instructions, and soon received them, in a strain of withering indignation against the insurgents. After repudiating with scorn the right to be judges of their ruler, she continued:

"What warrant have they in Scripture, being subjects, to depose their prince; but contrary, and that with express words in St. Paul, who, to the Romans,*

* Mary seems to have had in mind Romans xiii : 1. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." But the

commanded them to obey *potestatibus supereminentioribus gladium gestantibus,* although it is well known that rulers in Rome were then infidels? Or what law find they written in any Christian monarchy, how and what sort subjects shall take and arrest the person of their princes, commit and detain them in captivity, proceed against them by process and judgment, as we are well assured no such order is to be found in the whole civil law? And if they have no warrant by Scripture or law, and yet can find out for their purpose some examples, as we hear by seditious ballads they put in print, they would pretend; we must justly account those examples to be unlawful, and acts of rebellion: and so, if the stories be well weighed, the success will prove them. You shall say that this may suffice to such as do pretend to be carried in their actions by authority either of religion or of justice. And as to others that for particular respect look only to their own surety, it were well done, before they proceeded any further, if they did well consider how to stay where they be, and to devise how to make surety of their doings already past, than to increase their peril by more dangerous doings to follow. We detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin their King, and mislike as much as any of them the marriage of the Queen our sister with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not lawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their superior and prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force; for we do

words *gladium gestantibus* (wielding the sword) are not found in that verse.

not think it constant in nature the head should be subject to the foot.

. . . . . .

"If they shall determine anything to the deprivation of the Queen, their sovereign lady, of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other princes of Christendom, that we will make ourselves a plain party against them, to the revenging of their sovereign, and for example to all posterity."

July 29th, the infant James, then thirteen months old, was crowned at Stirling, and John Knox preached the sermon of the grand occasion. The Reformer seldom enjoyed a prouder triumph, than standing in the hall of Mary's stronghold, and proclaiming his Protestant views. The ceremonies were followed by bonfires, and all the popular demonstrations of gladness, on highland and in lowland, the King could have claimed, had he been sufficiently mature to comprehend the pageantry about him. That coronation was one of a series of suggestive events.

At Stirling Castle, Mary Stuart was crowned in the arms of her nurse; there a son was born and baptized; and while the captive mother was lamenting "the evil times," in prison, the wondering boy was the centre of enthusiasm. In the same renowned pile *his rights* were the theme of rejoicing, and her solitude was the subject of heartless approval.

Murray had heard in France of Mary's errors and calamities, and cherishing a tenderness and attach-

ment toward his sister, set out, upon receiving intelligence of the coronation, for Scotland. Before he reached England, his hostility to the Queen's imprisonment was modified. A messenger, whom he had dispatched to Scotland, met him with the declaration of the nobles, and the disclosures of the silver casket. When he entered the presence of Elizabeth, he was less ardent in Mary's cause than when in France. But the indignant Queen reiterated her denunciations of the lords, and her purpose to restore Mary Stuart to the throne. This increased Murray's alienation, and also the danger of the royal prisoner. The Hamiltons had become traitors, and aspiring to the sovereignty, were negotiating for the trial and execution of Mary. The advent of Murray at such a time was an exciting incident. The different factions sent representatives across the frontier to enlist his sympathy. He respectfully heard their appeals, but gave no pledges for the future. Then he crossed the boundary of the kingdoms, an escort of three hundred men attending him to Edinburgh. All eyes were turned to him, as the regent of distracted Scotland.

He refused to decide, amid the conflicting views of the people, until he had seen and conversed with Mary. The nobles did not oppose the visit, because they had no power to prevent it; and on the 15th of August, Murray, in company with Morton, Athol and Lindsay, repaired to Lochleven Castle. It was his purpose to secure her appointment of himself to the regency, and enter upon the government with the fairest prospect of success.

"On seeing him enter her prison, Mary thought that her brother had come to be her friend and pro-

tector. She burst into a flood of tears, and passionately complained of the unjust treatment she had experienced. Murray listened to her in silence, and neither commiserated nor consoled her. The suppliant Mary then said, turning towards Athol and Morton: 'My lords, you have had experience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you also let me find that you have learned by me to make an end of yours, or, at least, that you can make it final.' But they were as taciturn and gloomy as Murray. Alarmed at a visit that seemed to confirm the sinister reports which had been spread concerning her, Mary took her brother aside before supper, anxiously questioned him as to the intentions of the lords, and in vain endeavored to fathom his own projects; but for two hours Murray continued silent and impenetrable. When the bitter meal had passed away, Mary again desired to converse with her brother, 'and everybody being retired, they conferred together until one of the clock after midnight.' In this second interview, Murray threw off his premeditated reserve, and spoke to the Queen with terrible frankness and inexorable severity. He told her what he thought of herself and her misgovernment, pitilessly reminded her of her improprieties of conduct, and laid before her, one by one, all the actions, which, he said, had violated her conscience, sullied her honor, and compromised her safety. The unhappy Queen was plunged into despair by this terrible accusation, and she lost all courage. 'Sometimes,' says Throckmorton, in his narrative of this painful scene, 'she wept bitterly; sometimes she acknowledged her unadvisedness and misgovernment; some things she did confess plainly;

some things she did excuse; some things she did extenuate.' After having crushed her with the weight of these dreadful recollections, Murray left his sister in an agony of fear; she thought that her fate was sealed, and that she must expect nothing but from God's mercy. In this state of mind she passed the remainder of the night.

"The next morning she sent for her brother, and Murray once more entered her room. Perceiving the impression he had made, he assumed a milder mood, changed his tone, threw in some words of consolation, and assured her that he desired to save her life, and, if possible, to preserve her honor. 'But,' he added, 'it is not in my power, only; the lords and others have interest in the matter. Notwithstanding, madam, I will declare to you which be the occasions that may put you in jeopardy. For your peril, these be they: your own practices to disturb the quiet of your realm and the reign of your son; to enterprise to escape from where you are, to put yourself at liberty; to animate any of your subjects to troubles or disobedience; the Queen of England or the French King to molest this realm, either with their war, or with war intestine, by your procurement or otherwise; and your own persisting in this inordinate affection with the Earl Bothwell.'

"At these words, Mary, who had remained under the dreadful impressions of the previous night, discerned a gleam of hope. She threw herself into her brother's arms, and expressed her satisfaction at his assurance that he would protect her life, and the hopes he allowed her to entertain that her honor would be saved. In order to arrive more surely at

this desired result, she conjured him not to refuse the regency, 'for by this means,' she said, 'my son shall be preserved, my realm well governed, and I in safety.' Murray hesitated, and alleged reasons, the sincerity of which we cannot suspect, against undertaking so arduous a task. Always hurried away by irresistible impulses, Mary only entreated him the more urgently to sacrifice his own repugnance to the welfare of his sister. She suggested that he should make himself master of all the forts in the kingdom, requested him to take her jewels and other valuables into his custody, and offered to give to his regency the support of her letters and the authority of her name. Murray at length assented, appearing to accept with resignation what he doubtless most ardently coveted. Before leaving his sister, he enjoined the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lochleven, 'to treat the Queen with gentleness, with liberty, and with all other good usage.' He then bade her farewell, 'and then began another fit of weeping, which being appeased, she embraced him very lovingly, kissed him, and sent her blessing unto the prince, her son, by him.'

"On this, as on many other occasions, Mary Stuart yielded to one of those rapid, momentary impressions which so frequently guided her conduct, and set at nought the dictates of prudence. At Lochleven, she displayed the same character as at the Kirk of Field, Almond Bridge, Carberry Hill, and shortly afterwards at Carlisle, always yielding to invincible passions or deceptive opinions. After having been terrified into signing her deed of abdication, she had been surprised into giving her consent to it. This consent, which she ere long repented, had been ob-

tained from her by the cold and astute Murray, whilst her troubled heart was passing from intense alarm to buoyant hope.

"Assured of her important approbation, Murray proceeded to Stirling to visit the infant monarch, in whose name he was to govern, and returned to Edinburgh on the 19th of August. Three days after, he was declared regent in the council chamber at the Tolbooth. Laying his hand upon the Gospels, like a true secretary and ardent supporter of the liberties of the realm, he took the following oath: 'I, James, Earl of Murray, Lord Abernethy, promise faithfully, in the presence of the Eternal, my God, that I, during the whole course of my life, will serve the same Eternal, my God, to the uttermost of my power, according as he requires in his most holy word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments; and, according to the same word, will maintain the true religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of his holy word, and due and right administration of his sacraments, now received and practiced within this realm; and also will abolish and withstand all false religion contrary to the same; and will rule the people committed to my charge and regiment during the minority and less-age of the King, my sovereign, according to the will and command of God, revealed in his aforesaid word, and according to the loveable laws and constitutions received in this realm, noways repugnant to the said word of the Eternal, my God; and will procure to my uttermost, to the kirk of God and all Christian people, true and perfect peace, in all time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges of the crown of Scotland, I will preserve

and keep inviolate; neither will I transfer nor alienate the same. I will forbid and repress, in all estates and degrees, reif, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all judgments I will command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception, as he be merciful to me and you, that is the Lord and Father of all mercies; and out of this realm of Scotland, and empire thereof, I will be careful to root that shall be convicted by the true kirk of God of the aforesaid crimes. And these things above written, I faithfully affirm by this my solemn oath.' The seventy-third psalm was then sung, and Murray was proclaimed regent at the Market Cross, amid the acclamations of the people."

The wheels of revolution had reached a plane of rest. The extreme and conservative parties submitted without opposition to this administration. Murray took the helm of the tempest-tossed ship of State, with a steady hand, and the approval of his subjects. Foreign princes acquiesced, excepting Elizabeth, whose anger was kindled intensely with repeated failures to influence the captors of Mary; but she was powerless to avert the consummation attained, and also to reverse the march of empire. Lethington assured Throckmorton, the English ambassador, that the lords were ready for war, and rebuked the imperious tone of Elizabeth. Murray added: "Though I were not here at the doings past, yet surely I must allow of them; and seeing the Queen and they have laid upon me the charge of the regency, (a burden which I would gladly have eschewed,) I do mean to wear my life in defence of their action, and will

either reduce all men to obedience in the King's name, or it shall cost me my life."

Murray soon obtained command of the fortresses of the realm, and was virtually monarch.

Bothwell had fled from the Castle of Dunbar to the Highlands, where he held estates. An armed detachment, whose chieftain was the Laird of Grange, went in hot pursuit of the fugitive. The freebooter then equipped a small fleet, and sought security amid the Shetland and Orkney isles, whose frowning cliffs dot the dark and tempestuous seas of the North. The Laird of Grange followed in his wake, seized two of his vessels, and was near Bothwell's ship, when he struck a shoal, and the daring outlaw made his escape; striking out into the open ocean, he was driven by a wild tempest to the coast of Norway. His career was commenced as a pirate; and falling in with a Danish man-of-war, he was boarded and taken to Denmark. The king, Frederick II., refused to give up the notorious Bothwell, either to Murray or to the Queen of England, but confined him in the prison of Malmoe Castle. After the torture of constant fear of being delivered up to his enemies, his restless spirit, chafing in restraint, like a caged lion lashing the bars of his iron lair, he died a despairing lunatic. His associates and minions were many of them arrested, tried and executed. Powrie, Dalgleish, Hay of Tallo, and Hepburn were of the number.

The most distinguished conspirators, however, on account of their position and influence, received honors, instead of the executioner's axe. And it has always been thus; human justice seldom reaches a

brow which reflects the smile of mammon, or wears the laurel of renown; foreshadowing the necessity and desirableness of a final tribunal, where the evidence and sentence will be unquestioned and unalterable.

December, 1567, the Parliament assembled with unusual completeness in number, and an imposing array of titles. Four bishops, fourteen abbots, twelve earls, sixteen lords and eldest sons of lords, and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs were present. This Parliament enacted religious uniformity by ratifying the Confession of Faith in 1560, and sanctioning the entire abolition of Catholicism; it resumed from the laymen a third of that ecclesiastical property which they had seized, and applied it to the support of ministers and schools belonging to the Reformed church; it recognized the legal elevation of the young King to the throne of Scotland, sanctioned the appointment of the regent, and keenly debated the course to be pursued with regard to the Queen—some wishing to bring her at once to trial, while others desired merely to retain her in captivity. The more moderate party gained the victory; but, in order to justify the confederate lords for having taken arms, imprisoned, and dethroned their sovereign, the Parliament passed an act, by the terms of which Mary Stuart was seriously criminated. It contains the following clause. "That the cause, and all things depending thereon, were in the Queen's own default, in so far as by divers her privy letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, chief executor of the said hor-

rible murder, as well before the committing thereof, as thereafter; and by her ungodly and dishonorable proceeding to a pretended marriage with him, suddenly and immediately thereafter, it is most certain that she was privy to it and part of the aforenamed murder of the King her lawful husband, committed by the said James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, his complices and partakers."

This harsh expression of opinion, tantamount to a condemnation, rendered Mary Stuart's captivity more stringent, although by Murray's orders she was treated with respect and consideration. She was more closely watched, lest she should write to request the assistance of any foreign power, or should devise a plan for her escape with her friends in Scotland. She was able to write only while her keepers were at their meals or asleep, for the daughters of the castellan slept with her. The vigilance of Margaret Erskine, who watched her captive as a tigress watches the prey for her young, and the fidelity of keepers, were in vain. George Douglas, son of Margaret, was smitten with Mary's surpassing beauty, and his sympathies were awakened by her calamities. The magic which fell upon all hearts from the azure eye, and wondrous fascination of her graceful person, made the Douglas a creature of her will. He resolved to obtain her liberty, and her hand. Disguising the prisoner in the apparel of a laundress, who frequented the castle, he led her unsuspected to the margin of the lake. The boat glided away from the shore, and Mary's heart throbbed with the anticipation of freedom. Friends were on the opposite side of the calm waters, awaiting the bark. One of the oarsmen suddenly sus-

pecting the disguise, approached the Queen and pleasantly began to lift the veil. The impulsive and startled Mary, extending her white hand to prevent the view of her face, revealed, in the delicate and snowy signal, the dreaded majesty of the dethroned sovereign. She assumed the bolder tone of authority, and commanded the boatmen to proceed. But they feared the Laird of Lochleven more than the anger of a royal captive, and returned without delay to the castle. Mary entered her tower in bitter disappointment and grief. This was on the 25th of March, 1568. She wrote to Catherine de Medici, "I have with great difficulty dispatched the bearer of this to inform you of my misery, and entreat you to have pity upon me." May 1st, she addressed Elizabeth in similar but more pathetic and supplicating terms, and renewed her appeals to the court of France.

George Douglas, the lover, was not idle. He had continued in the neighborhood of Lochleven, and mused day and night upon plans for the escape of the Queen. He resolved upon another experiment, May 2d, which was Sunday. Communicating with Mary, Lord Seton, and the Hamiltons, through a page, sixteen years of age, called the "Little Douglas," he had well and successfully arranged the plot. Seton and others were to receive the prisoner at the castle gates. at the hour of meals, the doors of the fortress were all shut, and the keys laid beside the castellan.* When the appointed occasion arrived, the page placed the plate before the Laird, and, dropping his napkin over the keys, bore them unobserved away. He hastened to Mary, who, attired in a servant's dress, followed

* Governor of the castle.

him through the gate, which was locked behind them, to prevent pursuit. They then stepped into a boat, and removing the fastening, rowed arrow-like across Lochleven. As the bark touched the beach, George Douglas and Lord Seton, who had been secreted in an adjacent village, met the smiling, hopeful Queen. Vaulting lightly to the saddle of her horse, she dashed off towards Niddry Castle, in West Lothian, the seat of Seton. Resting a few hours, she journeyed forward to the strong fortress of Hamilton, and was met by Lord Claud Hamilton, with a company of fifty horsemen. Upon her arrival, she was received with the salutations of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Mary Stuart now prepared to assert her right to the throne of Bruce, with arms. She sent Beaton, brother of the Archbishop of Glasgow, to France, to crave assistance in the coming struggle, and dispatched a messenger to Dunbar, anticipating the surrender of the castle to her command.

The tidings of her deliverance flew like the morning light, and the friends of former days, who had continued loyal, with the forgiving and the disaffected toward Murray, thronged around her to offer their love and lives to the beautiful Queen of Scotland. About forty bishops, earls and lords, and a hundred barons, signed a league to place again the sceptre in her hand. In the presence of her council, she revoked her abdication, declared Murray a traitor, and found herself, in a brief period, at the head of a force of six thousand men.

The ambassador of Charles IX., of France, sought her camp, and recognized her as the rightful sovereign of the realm; and Elizabeth offered aid to re-es-

tablish her authority, if she would have nothing to do with foreign assistance. Mary's situation was extremely perilous, because if she triumphed on the field, the Hamiltons would urge with resistless power the marriage of a member of their family; if she lost the battle she would be at the mercy of Murray. With prudent policy, she forwarded to the regent proposals of reconciliation between the two parties. He was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice, guarded only by his suite, when he heard of his sister's safe arrival at Hamilton Castle, eight miles from his judicial hall. Never did the heroism of his character, the Puritan texture, appear more sublimely. Instead of flying for recruits as advised to do, he remained, without betraying the shadow of a fear upon his bold heart, and won both the greater admiration and the more determined adherence of his followers. Requesting time to consider the overtures of the Queen, he addressed himself to the raising of an army, which should decide in sanguinary conflict, if necessary, to whom the crown of Scotland belonged. His rapid, yet calm and well arranged plan of operations, inspired his partisans with courage, and drew to his standard the Presbyterian soldiery. Edinburgh gave him four hundred hackbutters; Glasgow offered her strength; and Dunbar Castle repelled Mary's demand, and continued true to the regent. The Earl of Mar hurried to the camp the trained men and heavy ordnance of Stirling; from the Merse country, the chivalrous and brave Alexander Hume brought six hundred lances; under the active, earnest Morton, the impetuous Glencairn, and the venerable Laird of Grange, recruits streamed in from valley and hill-

side, till four thousand strong and fearless men stood around the reliable Murray, waiting his command. With something of Napoleon's tactics, he directed an immediate attack on the ranks of the Queen, before additional volunteers increased her prospect of victory. Though Mary preferred greater security of position, the Hamiltons were confident of conquest, and anxious for battle. They yielded so far to her influence, as to march towards Dumbarton Castle, an almost impregnable fortress, with the determination to fight if pursued—an unfortunate course, exposing their rear to the foe, and hazarding the chances of an engagement, while in retreat. The Queen's army had to pass from the left bank of the Clyde to the south of Glasgow, where Murray had entrenched a large body of troops, to guard the road. The veteran Laird of Grange, according to his own advice, occupied the heights of Langside, with the main forces, and placed in ambush a company of hackbutters, beside a lane through which the hostile regiments must march to reach the hill. This path was through a defile, intersected with hedges, and divided into plantations, with their dwellings and foliage. The Queen's cavalry, though vastly outnumbering that of Murray, could not fight with advantage there, and the infantry, confined and embarrassed, would be quickly subdued. The Hamiltons, two thousand strong, entered the defile with the step of warriors who saw through the smoke of conflict, victory folding her wings on their standard, when, like a storm of hail from a viewless cloud, a wasting fire was poured from the ambush upon that astonished vanguard. Confusion followed, and the living men pressed up the declivity, ex-

hausted and scathed by the discharge of the unseen foe. Upon the summit they were met with Murray's welcome of pikemen, who rushed to the combat with desperate valor. The Laird of Grange swept from one wavering line to another, to reinforce and reanimate; Morton, with mathematical coolness and precision, made havoc; Hume dashed with a tempestuous and daring onset upon the ranks of the enemy, while Murray made a brilliant and decisive charge with his resistless columns, on the reeling host of Mary, and the field was won. The triumph gained in three-quarters of an hour was so complete, that only three hundred of the Queen's army were left dead on the silent eminence; ten pieces of brass cannon were taken, and a large number of prisoners, among whom were distinguished nobles. Mary Stuart had watched from a distant elevation the arena of battle, where her throne was the contested prize. Her ambitious heart throbbed with the excitement of hope, while her battalions moved through the leaden hail to the summit of Langside; that heart was tossed with conflicting emotions, as the carnage deepened, and sank with despair when Murray swept down upon the wavering ranks. Descending with haste to the plain, she mounted her horse, and attended by a few servants, rode in a wild gallop towards Dumfries, neither halting or slackening speed till sixty miles lay between her and the scene of hopeless defeat. At Dundrennan Abbey, she gazed a moment on the waters, and chose a bark for England, instead of a home in France. Relying upon the repeated assurances of Elizabeth's kindness, she resolved to cast herself upon

the mercy of the Queen, to whom she wrote as follows:

"My very dear sister, without giving you a narrative of all my misfortunes, since they must be known to you already, I will tell you that those of my subjects whom I have most benefitted, and who were under the greatest obligations to me, after having revolted against me, kept me in prison, and treated me with the utmost indignity, have at last entirely driven me from my kingdom, and reduced me to such a condition that, after God, I have no hope in any one but you."

Lord Herries, who was with Mary, sent a request to the deputy governor of Carlisle for permission to enter the city; but before an answer could arrive, the fugitive Queen rashly crossed the Solway Frith, in a fisherman's boat, and May 16th, landed at Workington, on the Cumberland coast. She immediately addressed Elizabeth:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madam my good sister, I believe you are not ignorant how long certain of my subjects, whom from the least of my kingdom I have raised to be the first, have taken upon themselves to involve me in trouble, and to do what it appears they had in view from the first. You know how they purposed to seize me and the late King my husband, from which attempt it pleased God to protect us, and to permit us to expel them from the country, where, at your request, I

again afterward received them; though on their return they committed another crime, that of holding me a prisoner, and killing in my presence a servant of mine, I being at the time in a state of pregnancy. It again pleased God that I should save myself from their hands; and, as above said, I not only pardoned them, but even received them into favor. They, however, not yet satisfied with so many acts of kindness, have, on the contrary, in spite of their promises, devised, favored, subscribed to, and aided in a crime, for the purpose of charging it falsely upon me, as I hope fully to make you understand. They have, under this pretence, arrayed themselves against me, accusing me of being ill advised, and pretending a desire of seeing me delivered from bad counsels, in order to point out to me the things that required reformation. I, feeling myself innocent, and desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, placed myself in their hands, wishing to reform what was amiss. They immediately seized and imprisoned me. When I upbraided them with a breach of their promise, and requested to be informed why I was thus treated, they all absented themselves. I demanded to be heard in council, which was refused me. In short, they have kept me without any servant, except two women—a cook and a surgeon; and they have threatened to kill me, if I did not sign an abdication of my crown, which the fear of immediate death caused me to do, as I have since proved before the whole of the nobility, of which I hope to afford you evidence.

"After this, they again laid hold of me in Parliament, without saying why, and without hearing me; forbidding, at the same time, every advocate to plead

for me, and compelling the rest to acquiesce in their unjust usurpation of my rights; they have robbed me of everything I had in the world, never permitting me either to write or to speak, in order that I might not contradict their false inventions.

"At last, it pleased God to deliver me, when they thought of putting me to death, that they might make more sure of their power, though I repeatedly offered to answer anything they had to say to me, and to join them in the punishment of those who should be guilty of any crime. In short, it pleased God to deliver me, to the great content of all my subjects, except Murray, Morton, the Humes, Glencairn, Mar, and Semple, to whom, after that my whole nobility was come from all parts, I sent to say that, notwithstanding their ingratitude and unjust cruelty employed against me, I was willing to invite them to return to their duty, and to offer them security of their lives and estates and to hold a Parliament for the purpose of reforming everything. I sent twice. They seized and imprisoned my messengers, and made proclamation, declaring traitors all those who should assist me, and guilty of that odious crime. I demanded that they should name one of them, and I would give him up, and begged them, at the same time, to deliver to me such as should be named to them. They seized upon my officer and my proclamation. I sent to demand a safe conduct to my Lord Boyd, in order to treat of accommodation, not wishing, as far as I might be concerned, for any effusion of blood. They refused, saying that those who had not been true to their regent and to my son, whom they denominate king, should leave me, and put them-

selves at their disposal—a thing at which the whole nobility were greatly offended.

"Seeing, therefore, that they were only a few individuals, and that my nobility were more attached to me than ever, I was in hope that, in course of time, and under your favor, they would be gradually reduced; and, seeing that they said they would either retake all or die, I proceeded towards Dumbarton, passing at the distance of two miles from them, my nobility accompanying me, marching in order of battle between them and me; which they seeing, sallied forth, and came to cut off my way and take me. My people seeing this, and moved by that extreme malice of my enemies, with a view to check their progress, encountered them without order, so that, though they were twice their number, their sudden advance caused them so great a disadvantage, that God permitted them to be discomfited, and several killed and taken; some of them were cruelly killed when taken on their retreat. The pursuit was immediately interrupted, in order to take me on my way to Dumbarton; they stationed people in every direction, either to kill or take me. But God, through his infinite goodness, has preserved me, and I escaped to my Lord Herries', who, as well as other gentlemen, have come with me into your country, being assured that, hearing the cruelty of my enemies, and how they have treated me, you will, conformably to your kind disposition, and the confidence I have in you, not only receive for the safety of my life, but also aid and assist me in my just quarrel, and I shall solicit other princes to do the same. I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable condition, not

only for a Queen, but for a gentlewoman: for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, traveling across the country the first day, and not having since ever ventured to proceed, except in the night, as I hope to declare before you, if it pleases you to have pity, as I trust you will, upon my extreme misfortune; of which I will forbear complaining, in order not to importune you, and pray to God that he may give to you a happy state of health and long life, and to me patience, and that consolation which I expect to receive from you, to whom I present my humble commendations. From Wrokinton, the 17th of May.

"Your most faithful and affectionate good sister, and cousin, and escaped prisoner, MARY R."

Elizabeth read this affecting plea of her rival with deep and contending emotions. The inquiries which enlisted her thought and tried her sympathies were, whether she should send Mary back to Scotland with a conquering army, give her a home in England, or permit her to return to France. Danger environed each of these possible plans of meeting the extremity of a fallen Queen. Again on the throne, she might overthrow the Protestant faith, and renew her pretensions to the crown of England. If she remained on British soil, there would be the opportunity for intrigues and conspiracies with the Catholics. Should Mary retire to France, the Guises and court of that papal kingdom might give her fearful strength to awaken the tumult of sanguinary conflicts, political and religious.

May 28th, another letter was addressed to the

doubting and suspicious Elizabeth, imploring mercy.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madam, my good sister, I have received two letters from you, the first of which, relating to myself, I hope to answer, and to learn from my Lord Scrop, and your vice-chamberlain, your natural inclination toward me, which I have always promised myself with certainty, and wish that my affection for you were as apparent as it is sincere, and then you would think your kindness better bestowed, than I could persuade you by my humble . . . . . .

"Madam, I am sorry that the haste in which I wrote my last letter, caused me to omit, as I perceive by yours, the principal thing which induced me to write to you, and which is also the principal cause of my coming into this kingdom, which is that, having for a long time been a prisoner, and, as I have already informed you, being unjustly treated, as well by their acts as by their false reports, I wished above all to lay my complaint before you, as well on account of our near relationship, equality of rank, and professed friendship, as to clear myself before you from those calumnious charges which they have dared to prefer against my honor, and also for the assurance I had that, above all things, you would consider that, not being punished for the crimes committed aforetime against me, which, at your request, I forgave these ungrateful subjects, and restored them to their former state, to the detriment and prejudice of mine, whence it is evident, that out of respect to you, I did what has caused my ruin, or at least very near it.

With a view to repair the mischief, and to amend the error that has arisen from it, I have dispatched my Lord Herries, my faithful and well beloved subject, to inform you fully of these things, and others concerning which I learned from Messieurs Scrop and Knowles [Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys] that you are in doubt, requesting you to believe him as myself, and forthwith to let me have your answer in writing, whether it would be agreeable to you if I were to come without delay and without ceremony to you, and tell you more particularly the truth about all that has happened to me, in contradiction to all their lies, which I am sure you would have pleasure to hear, as you have pleased to write me in your letters, that you could take my justification in your own hands till you have replaced me in the state to which Heaven had pleased to call me, and that all princes are bound to support and assist one another.

"I send, on this occasion, my cousin, my Lord Flemin, a faithful subject, in order that, being assured by you, he may proceed to France to thank the king, monsieur, my good brother, for his . . . . and good offices, which I reserve for another time, if I have occasion for them, contenting myself with your aid and support, which I shall feel myself obliged to acknowledge as long as I live, in every way in my power. If, on the contrary, that which I reckon upon does not come from you, and from some others, for considerations which I am not aware of, at least I trust that, freely as I came to throw myself into your arms, as my best friend, you will permit me, in your refusal, to seek succor from other princes and friends, my allies, as may seem most convenient to me, with-

out any prejudice to the eminent friendship between us two; and whatever you decide will please you, I shall be satisfied with, though one would have been more agreeable to me than the other; for, God be thanked, I have got good friends and neighbors in my so just quarrel; and there is nothing to prevent me from applying to them but this detention, which, to speak freely to you as you do to me, I think rather harsh and strange, considering that I came so frankly into your country without any condition, or any distrust of your friendship, promised in your frequent letters; and though I have lived in a manner a prisoner in your castle for a fortnight, since the arrival of your counsellors, I have not obtained permission to go to you to plead my cause, as my confidence in you was such that I asked for nothing more than to go to you to make you acquainted with my grievances.

"Now I beseech you to consider how important my long detention is to me, and for the cause of my ruin, which, thank God, is not gaining ground. Signify then to me the consent of your natural affection for your good sister, and cousin, and firm friend. Remember that I have kept my promise. I send you my . . . . . in a ring, and I have brought you the signal, in order to tie the knot more firmly; if you are not disposed to wrong me . . . whom you may believe as you would myself. After this long address, I shall not trouble you further than to present my affection and recommendations to your good grace, and to pray God to grant you, madam, health, and a long and happy life.

"Your very faithful and . . . . .

"Karlil, the 28th of May, 1568."

Whatever were the transient impulses of compassion excited by this plaintive plea, Elizabeth adhered to her policy, and secretly decided to keep Mary Stuart in her own hands. As preliminary to the ultimate purpose, and to prepare the way, she gave the captive a royal journey from Workington to Carlisle, and lavished upon her the honors due to a Queen. After the pageantry of Mary's entry into the city was over, she was surrounded with spies, and guarded by soldiery. Elizabeth dispatched letters of condolence, but refused to see her until she had proved herself innocent of Darnley's murder. The following passage is from the report of Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys, warden and vice-chamberlain of the border, to Elizabeth, after the interview of May 28th:

"We found her in her answers to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head; and it seemeth by her doings, that she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto; and, after our delivery of your highness's letters, she fell into some passion, with the water in her eyes, and therewith, she drew us with her into her bed-chamber, where she complained unto us, for that your highness did not meet her expectations, for the admitting her into your presence forthwith; that upon good declaration of her innocence, your highness would either without delay give her aid yourself, to the subduing her enemies, or else, being now come of good will, and not of necessity into your hands (for a good and greatest part of her subjects, said she, remain fast to her still) your highness would, at least, forthwith give her passage through your country into France, to seek aid at other

princes' hands; not doubting, but both the French king, and the king of Spain, would give her relief to her satisfaction. And here she fell into discourses, that the cause of the war and disobedient treasons of these her subjects, was thereby to keep that which she had too liberally given them by violence; since through her revocation whereof, when of full age, they could not enjoy the same by law; and withal (she affirmed) that both Lethington and the Lord Morton were assisting to the murder of her husband."

Lord Herries was now sent to London to negotiate a loan upon the Queen's credit as dowager of France, with which to sustain the cause of her partizans in Scotland. Retaining Dumbarton Castle, they were strong and unyielding. Murray was unsparing and persevering in his efforts to subdue them, but failed to exterminate the reanimated foe. Lord Fleming was chosen to represent Mary's cause in France, with most pathetic messages to Charles IX., Catherine and the Cardinal of Lorraine. "She besought the French court to deliver her from her unfortunate position by sending two thousand infantry to the relief of Dumbarton; by furnishing the money and accoutrements necessary for the equipment and maintenance of five hundred horse-soldiers; by sending artillery and ammunition to enable her to recover the other fortresses of Scotland; and by bestowing the order of St. Michael on two or three of those noblemen who had especially distinguished themselves by their valor and devotion to her cause, in order to encourage the others, and confirm them in their fidelity." Seizing upon Mary's offer to establish her innocence, Eliz-

abeth determined upon a formal trial of the prisoner. Murray urged it, with extravagant promises to furnish overwhelming evidence of his sister's guilt.

After some delay, Lords Herries and Fleming, who had reached London, were admitted into the presence of the politic and ascendant "Virgin Queen," at whose tribunal of justice never was arraigned a criminal of so manifold gifts and honors, and around whom gathered an interest extensive as regal sway. The envoys advocated zealously the claims of Mary. Elizabeth replied:

"But her subjects have discriminated throughout the world a scandalous and disgraceful report, of which she is well aware; her honor and mine require that the matter should be looked into—not that I should constitute myself her judge, but that I should inquire of her accusers what cause they have to speak thus of her, and by what right they have seized her person, her crown, her fortress, and all her property, in doing which they cannot be excusable." "But, madam," said Lord Herries, "if it should appear to be otherwise which God forbid?" "Even then, I would not fail to arrange with her subjects, in the best and most careful manner possible, so as to secure her honor and provide for their safety." When, however, Herries requested that his mistress might be allowed to withdraw to the Continent, or at all events, to return to Scotland in the little boat which had brought her over to England, Elizabeth absolutely refused. "As for the passage of my good sister into France, I will not prove myself so imprudent as to permit it, and be thus held in low esteem among other princes. When she was there before, the King, her

husband, assumed for her the title and arms belonging to my crown, though I was then alive; and I will not place myself again in such embarrassing circumstances. . . . . As for her return into Scotland in the humble conveyance which you have mentioned, since she has come into my country, it would be neither to her honor nor to mine for her to go back; and besides, it would not be to her advantage to do so."

Accordingly, Elizabeth dispatched an ambassador to Murray, then leading an army of six thousand men against the heroic friends of Mary Stuart, and demanded a truce, until she had decided the right to the crown of Scotland, and the criminality of the contending parties. She rebuked the regent for the daring deeds which gained his elevation, and seemed anxious to inspire Mary with hope; either because she felt the promptings of pity, or to make surer work of securing her victim; that Elizabeth was not altogether demoniac in these complicated interests at stake, is clear. In this strain she addressed Murray:

"All these things cannot but sound very strange in the ears of us, being a prince sovereign, having dominions and subjects committed to our power, as she had. For remedy whereof she requireth our aid, as her next cousin and neighbor; and for justification of her whole cause, is content to commit the hearing and ordering of the same simply to us. We have thought good and necessary, not only to impart thus much unto you, wherewith she chargeth you, and others joined with you, but also to require and advise

you utterly to forbear from all manner of hostility and persecution against all such as have lately taken part with the said Queen, and to suspend all manner of actions and proceedings against them, both by law and arms, and to impart unto us plainly and sufficiently all that which shall be meet to inform us of the truth, for your defence, in such weighty crimes and causes as the said Queen hath already or shall hereafter object against you, contrary to the duty of natural born subjects; so that we, being duly informed on all parts, may, by the assistance of God's grace, direct our actions and orders principally to his glory, and next to the conservation of our own honor in the sight of all other princes, and finally to the maintenance and increase of peace and concord betwixt both these two realms."

Middlemore, the plenipotentiary to Mary, delivered his message in the presence of Scrope and Knollys; the burden of which was the reiterated determination of Elizabeth not to receive her rival, until acquitted of participation in the recent regicide. When allusion was made to the judgment of the Queen of England, and a *trial*, Mary Stuart's passion was aroused, and she answered indignantly: "I have no other judge but God, neither can any take upon themselves to judge me. Of my own free will, indeed, and according to the good trust I reposed in the Queen, my sister, I offered to make her the judge of my cause. But how can that be, when she will not suffer me to come to her."

Mary demanded an interview with Elizabeth, or permission to depart with or without assistance, and

again imploringly wrote to the unrelenting arbiter of her fate.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madam, my good sister—I thank you for the disposition which you have to listen to the justification of my honor, which ought to be a matter of importance to all princes, and especially to you, as I have the honor to be so near of kin to you. But it seems to me, that those who persuade you that my reception would turn to your dishonor, manifest the contrary. But, alas, madam, when did you ever hear a prince censured for listening in person to the grievances of those who complain that they have been falsely accused. Dismiss, madam, from your mind the idea that I came hither to save my life; neither the world nor all Scotland has cast me out; but to recover my honor, and to obtain support to enable me to chastise my false accusers, not to answer them as their equal, for I know that they ought not to enter into engagements against their sovereign, but to accuse them before you, that I have chosen you from among all other princes, as my nearest kinswoman and perfect friend; doing as if I supposed it to be an honor to be called the queen-restorer, who helped to receive this kindness from you, giving you the honor and the glory all my life, making you also thoroughly acquainted with my innocence, and how falsely I have been led.

"I see, to my great regret, that I am mistaken. You say that you are counseled by persons of high rank to be guarded in this affair. God forbid that I should be cause of dishonor to you, when it was my

intention to seek the contrary! Wherefore, if you please, as my affairs require such great haste, let me see if the other princes will act in the same manner, and then you cannot be blamed. Permit me to see those who will support me without any apprehension of that sort, and take what security you will of me when I shall afterward place myself again in your hands. Though I think you would not desire that, when replaced on my throne, my honors restored, and all foreigners out of the country, I shall come to plead my cause before you, and to justify myself for the sake of my honor and of the friendship which I bare you, and not for the satisfaction I should have in answering false subjects; or even sending for me without giving credit, as it seems you do, to those who are not worthy of it. Grant me your favor and assistance first, and then you shall see whether I am worthy. If you find that I am not, and that my demands are unjust, or to your prejudice, or contrary to your honor, it will then be time to get rid of me, and to let me seek my fortune without troubling you. For, being innocent, as thank God I know I am, are you not doing me wrong to keep me here, on getting out of one person as it were in another, encouraging my false enemies to persevere in their lying ways, and disheartening my friends by delaying the assistance promised them from other quarters, if I wished to employ it? I have all the good men on my side, and my detention may bring ruin upon them, or cause them to change their sentiments, and then there will be a new conquest to make. For your sake, I pardoned those who are at this moment seeking my ruin; of which I can accuse you before God, and . . .

further delay will undo me. . . . . Excuse me, it is to me a matter of the utmost importance. I must speak to you without dissimulation. You have admitted into your presence a bastard brother of mine, who fled from me, and you refuse me the favor, and I feel assured, that the juster my cause the longer it will be delayed; for it is the remedy of a bad cause to stop the mouths of its adversaries; besides, I know that John Wood was commissioned to procure this detention, as their most certain remedy in an unjust quarrel and usurpation of authority.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, assist me, binding me to you in everything, or be neuter. And permit me to try what I can do elsewhere, otherwise, by delaying matters, you will injure me more than my very enemies. If you are afraid of blame, at least, for the confidence that I have placed in you, do nothing either for or against me, that you do and see that I would do for my honor, being at liberty. For here I neither can nor will answer their false accusations, though out of friendship and for my pleasure, I would cheerfully justify myself to you, but not in the form of a trial with my subjects, if they bark at me with my hands tied. Madam, they and I are not companions in anything; and if I were to be kept here still longer, I would rather die than make myself such.

"Now, speaking as your good sister, let me beseech you, for the sake of your honor, without further delay, to send back my Lord Herries, with the assurance that you will assist me, as he has requested you in my name: for I have no answer either from you or from him, nor your license as above. I be-

seech you, also, since I am come to place myself in your hands, in which I have been detained so long without having any certainty, to order my Lord Scrope to allow my subjects to have access, if only one, two, or three, to come and return, and to bring me intelligence about my subjects, otherwise it would be condemning me and my defenders. God grant that you may listen to what I have intended to say to you briefly; I should not have troubled you at such length, though I do not blame you in the least for these underhand practices against me; but I hope, notwithstanding all their fair offices and falsely colored speeches, that you will find me a more profitable friend than they can be to you. I shall say nothing particular but by word of mouth. Wherefore, I shall conclude with my humble commendations to your good grace, praying God to grant you, madam my good sister, health, and a long and very happy life.

"From Carlil, the xiii of June, 1568.

"Your good sister and cousin,

"MARY R."

The kings of Europe were increasingly interested spectators of the approaching crisis in the history of a sovereign, whose destiny would be an example to future monarchs. The Queen, whose extraordinary power of beauty and genius won triumphs, had been watched from thrones more remote than Elizabeth's, who calmly gazed from her fastness, like a mountain eagle upon an invader of radiant plumage, till the feared and envied foe was bleeding within his talons. The crowned heads of half a continent saw the des-

perate game, but occupied with insurrections at home, or commotions abroad, offered no interposition. Montmorin, the envoy of Charles IX., of France, asked Elizabeth to deal kindly with Mary, and describes his visit to Carlisle:

"The room which she occupies is gloomy, being lighted only by one casement, latticed with iron bars. You go to it through three other rooms, which are guarded and occupied by hackbutters. In the last of these, which forms the ante-chamber to the Queen's apartment, resides Lord Scrope, the governor of the border districts. The Queen has only three of her women with her. Her servants and domestics sleep out of the castle. The doors are not opened until ten o'clock in the morning. The Queen is allowed to go as far as the church in the town, but she is always accompanied by a hundred hackbutters. She requested Scrope to send her a priest to say mass; but he answered that there were no priests in England."

The cloud of despair settled down between Mary and the throne of England, and she appealed to the Cardinal of Lorraine to save her sinking fortunes from complete ruin. Her words are subduing. "I entreat you to have pity on the honor of your poor niece, and to procure for me the support I need. Meanwhile, I beseech you to send me some money; for I have none wherewith to buy either food or clothing. The Queen of England has sent me a little linen, and supplies me with one dish. The rest I have borrowed, but I can get no more. You will

share in this disgrace. God is subjecting me to a hard trial; nevertheless, rest assured that I shall die a Catholic. God will quickly remove me from these miseries, for I have suffered insults, calumnies, imprisonment, hunger, cold, heat, flight, without knowing whither to go, for ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or dismounting, and then being obliged to sleep on the hard ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread; and at last I am come into this country, where, as a reward, I am nothing better than a prisoner; and meanwhile the houses of my servants are pulled down, and I cannot assist them, and my servants themselves are hanged, and I cannot recompense them."

No aid was extended, and the only alternative for Mary was to meet Murray in trial before the judicial bar of Elizabeth. She was more narrowly guarded, and the privy council of England "decided unanimously that Queen Mary should be removed from the frontier to some place in the interior of the kingdom. They maintained, moreover, that in virtue of the ancient fuedal superiority of the crown of England over that of Scotland—a superiority which had frequently been asserted by the one, and as frequently denied by the other—Queen Mary might be brought to trial; that the wish which she had expressed to be restored to her throne before her innocence had been proved, or else permitted to withdraw to France before she had been tried, was equally opposed to the honor and safety of Elizabeth; but that, after her cause and justification had been thoroughly examined, she should be taken back to her kingdom and restored to her authority."

July 6th, 1568, she wrote once more from Carlisle to Elizabeth, repeating her condemnation of "the rebels," complaining of additional restraint, and closes with this eloquent passage:

"Good sister, be of another mind. Even the heart and all shall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to have satisfied you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas! do not as the serpent that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died. Why should princes' ears be stopped, seeing they are painted so long; meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the chameleon's, to turn you to my likeness; and though I should be so dangerous and curst as men say, you are sufficiently armed with constancy and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well, with long and happy life."

Under a military escort, Mary Stuart was removed to the Castle of Bolton, in Yorkshire, a fortress in the possession of Lord Scrope. Promising an impartial investigation of her affairs, Elizabeth required her to renounce entirely the claim to the succession in England during the life of herself or issue; and also to break the league with France, and adopt in religious worship the forms of common prayer. Mary at length yielded so far to the pressure of events, that she consented to the appointment of commissioners to arbitrate and settle honorably the pending and mo-

mentous questions of royalty. The Queen of England expressed her bias and prospective action, in a communication addressed to Murray the 20th of September:

"Whereas we hear say, that certain reports are made in sundry parts of Scotland, that whatsoever should fall out now upon the hearing of the Queen of Scots' cause, in any proof to convince or acquit the said Queen concerning the horrible murder of her late husband our cousin, we have determined to restore her to her kingdom and government, we do so much mislike hereof, as we cannot endure the same to receive any credit; and therefore we have thought good to assure you, that the same is untruly devised by the authors to our dishonor. For as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by her letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder, (which we wish to be true,) so surely if she should be found justly to be guilty thereof, as hath been reported of her, (whereof we would be very sorry,) then, indeed, it should behoove us to consider otherwise of her cause than to satisfy her desire in restitution of her to the government of that kingdom. And so we would have you and all others think, that should be disposed to conceive honorably of us and our actions."

War ceased in Scotland, and the regent made preparations to confront his sister and former sovereign. Mary chose for the occasion, to represent her cause, Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, Lords Herries, Boyd and Livingston, Sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and Sir

James Cockburn, of Stirling. Murray appeared with Earl of Morton, the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and Robert Pitcairn, with Buchanan and others as assistants. Elizabeth selected Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler.

Lethington, who was involved in the King's murder, and who had always retained an attachment to Mary, endeavored to avert the public inquiry, to which she had given her assent. He felt that dishonor to her would be a result, and forwarded the letters in the silver casket to the captive, desiring to know how he might serve her in the approaching emergency. She requested Lethington to soften the severity of Murray's accusations, and secure the influence of the illustrious Duke of Norfolk. The noble Howard wielded a controlling influence in the privy council, and over the kingdom. The third time a widower, he secretly aspired to the hand of Mary Stuart.

Norfolk immediately united his power to Lethington's efforts to stay proceedings. In an interview with that disloyal and pliant secretary, he began his mediation with a plan of reconciliation between the regent and his exiled sister. He thus reprovingly addressed Lethington:

"Is England judge over the princes of Scotland? How could we find it in our hearts to dishonor the mother of our future king? or how could we answer afterwards for what we had done, seeing that, by bringing his mother's honesty in question, we jeopardize his right to the crown of England. It had been rather the duty of you, his subjects, to cover her imperfections, if she had any, leaving her punish-

ment unto God, who is the only judge over princes."

Lethington endorsed these opinions, and arranged a meeting of Murray with Norfolk, which occurred at night, in the solitary gallery of the dwelling of the duke. The effect of the duke's reasoning, on the evils which would inevitably attend a public defamation of the Queen, while nothing but great imprudence on the part of her accusers could prevent her ultimate possession of the crown of England, was deep and influential upon the discriminating mind of Murray. The regent affirmed, however, that the contents of the casket could not be suppressed—the Queen did not deny their origin, and many had already seen them. Norfolk persuaded him not to use them as evidence, and wisely added:

"You are grievously deceived, if you imagine the Queen of England will ever pronounce sentence in this cause. Do you not see that no answers have been returned to the questions which, upon this point, were addressed by you to us, and forwarded to the Queen? Nay, you can easily put the matter to a more certain proof. Request an assurance, under the Queen's hand, that when you accuse your sovereign and bring forward your proofs, she will pronounce sentence. If you get it, act as you please—if it is not given, rest assured that my information is true, and take occasion thereupon to stay from further proceedings." Murray decided to do no more than vindicate himself, without attacking Mary.

During these private negotiations and plots—the unfolding series of events in the life of a beautiful princess, whose far-reaching interest swept over many brave and cowardly hearts, both in the splendor

and under the shadow of thrones—the prisoner wrote a letter to Elizabeth, embracing a summary of her hopes, desires and fears:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.

"Madam, my good sister—I cannot describe to you the pleasure which I have derived, at so unfortunate a time for me, from your friendly and consoling letters, which seem as if sent by God to solace me amid so many troubles and adversities with which I am surrounded. I clearly perceive how much I am bound to praise God for our having been brought up, fortunately for me, together in our youth,* which is the cause of our indissoluble friendship, proofs of which you give on your part. Alas! what return can I make, unless by loving and honoring you, and, if I should ever have the means of serving you, as I have always wished to do, and shall as long as I live.

"Do not blame me, my good sister, if I have not written to you—for I have been for eleven months imprisoned, and so strictly guarded, as not to have either the means to write, or any one to whom I could intrust my letters. After that, I was ten days in Scotland, and in a castle only five miles distant from my enemies. Since then, I lost the battle.† I was obliged to take refuge here, as I informed you by Montmorin. By the way, I kiss your hands for the

* Elizabeth, third wife of Philip II., of Spain, was the eldest daughter of the French King, Henry II., at whose court the Queen of Scots was brought up.

† The battle of Langside, which induced Mary to seek refuge in England. See above, pp. 222–225.

regret which he told me you had expressed for my misfortunes. But to return to my subject. Don Guzman can vouch for the impossibility, in my situation, either of sending a messenger, or even a letter, in safety; for I am in the hands of people, who watch me so narrowly, that the most trifling circumstance would furnish them with an excuse for serving me a worse turn than detaining me against my will; and but for this, I should long since have been in France. But she [Queen Elizabeth] has positively refused to allow me to go thither, and insists on directing my affairs, whether I will or not. I cannot give you here all the details, as they would be too long; but I have ordered the brother of my ambassador in France, to acquaint the ambassador of the king, your lord, in London, with every particular, that he may write to you in cipher, otherwise it would be dangerous.

"I will tell you one thing, by the way; that if the kings, your lord and your brother, were at peace, my misfortune might be of service to Christendom. For my coming to this country has caused me to make acquaintance, by which I have learned so much of the state of things here, that if I had ever so little hope of succeeding elsewhere, I would make ours the reigning religion, or perish in the attempt.* The whole of this part is entirely devoted to the Catholic faith, and with the right that I have, for this reason,

* This letter, written at the time when Mary was making such strong professions of implicit submission to Elizabeth, clearly shows what England might have expected, could Mary have got rid of its detested Protestant sovereign, although her "good sister," and made good her own claim to her throne.

in my favor, I could easily teach this Queen what it is to intermeddle and assist subjects against princes. She is extremely jealous, lest this, and this only, should restore me to my country. But she tries, by all means, to make me appear guilty of what I have so unjustly been accused of, as you will perceive from a statement of all the intrigues which have been directed against me ever since I was born, by those traitors to God and to me. It is not yet finished. Nevertheless, I must tell you I have been offered many fine things to change my religion; which I will never do. But if I am compelled to yield, in some points, which I have stated to your ambassador, you may judge that it will be because I am a prisoner. Now I assure you, and beseech you to assure the king, that I shall die in the Roman Catholic religion, whatever they may say to the contrary. I cannot exercise it here, because they will not permit me, and, merely for having spoken of it, they have threatened to shut me up more closely, and to treat me with less consideration.

"You have adverted to a subject in jest, which I mean to take in good earnest; it is respecting the ladies, your daughters. Madam, I have also a son. I hope that if the king, and the king your brother, to whom I beg you to write in my behalf, will but send an embassy to this Queen, declaring to her that they do me the honor to rank me as their sister and ally, and that they are resolved to take me under their protection, requiring her at the same time, if she values their friendship, to send me back to my kingdom, and to assist me to punish my rebels; otherwise, they will themselves endeavor to do so, being as-

sured that she will never take part with subjects against their sovereign; she will not dare to refuse them, for she is herself in some fear of insurrections. For she is not greatly beloved by any one of the religions, while, God be praised, I believe I have gained the hearts of a great many good people of the country, since my coming, so that they are ready to hazard all they possess, for me and my cause. If this were done, and some other necessary favors, which I have mentioned to your ambassador, being in my own country, and in friendship with this Queen, whom her people will not permit to see me, for fear I should lead her into a better track, (for they are of opinion that I should govern her if I studied to please her,) I might then hope to bring up my son in devotion to your interest; and if it please God to be merciful to me, and, with your assistance, to gain for him that which belongs to us, I am sure that, if you grant him one of your daughters, whichsoever you please, he will be but too happy. They have almost made an offer to naturalize him; and for the Queen to adopt him as her son. But I have no wish to give him up to them, and to resign my rights, the consequence of which would be to render him of their wretched religion. If I had my choice, I should much rather send him to you, and risk every danger to re-establish the ancient and good faith through this whole island. I beg you will keep this secret, for it might cost me my life; yet whatever you hear, be assured that I shall never change my opinion, however I may be compelled to accommodate myself to circumstances.

"I will not trouble you at present with a longer letter, but merely beseech you to write in my behalf.

Should I and this Queen come to terms, I will write and inform you. But it is necessary that your ambassador should be commanded to correspond with me in cipher, and to send some one to visit me at times, as my attendants dare not go to them.

"I humbly recommend myself to your favor, praying God to give you health and a long and happy life. I have much more to write to you, but I dare not; I am in a fever about this. I beg you to send me some one, in your especial name, and one in whom I can place confidence, so that I may make known to him all my intentions. From Bolton, this 24th September, 1568.

"Your very humble and obedient sister,

"MARY."

Mary Stuart contemplated the arraignment of the regent, but evidently did not anticipate for herself the position of a criminal before the appointed judges of her invaded prerogative. If she had maintained a proud refusal to answer to any charges preferred by her rebellious subjects, Elizabeth would not have been able to bring her to a tribunal; and to continue her captivity, would have been a most difficult and dangerous undertaking. The submission of Mary to the arbitration of her rival, was not the least of the errors of her impulsive, ardent nature, whose conquering loveliness of person, and ancient lineage of royalty, were made the delusive basis of undying hope. A rainbow arched every storm, to her vision, and she awaited, with the excitement of consuming anxiety and expectation of deliverance, the trial.

CHAPTER VII.

The conference was opened with pomp and ceremony, befitting a court representing two Queens, a regent, and the leading nobles of both England and Scotland. Mary Stuart's commissioners boldly asserted her regal rights and honor—made a full and lucid statement of the successive shocks of revolution which had shaken the land of Bruce to its centre, and hurled their indignant condemnation upon the rebellious partizans of Murray. The regent offered his vindication with equal boldness. He described the impolitic measures and marriages of the Queen—the voluntary resignation of her crown—and her consent to his acceptance of the regency from the enthusiastic people. He passed over the charge of murder, which was to the masses the unpardonable sin of her reign, and which kindled the anger of Elizabeth more than any other error, excepting the claim to succession. The commissioners replied that the marriage with Bothwell was an unwilling submission to the wishes of the nobles. To this, Murray made no answer. Elizabeth was without excuse for delaying a personal interview with Mary. Murray improved the moment, to test the success of a more fearful line of procedure. He inquired of the English commissioners whether, if he proved the captive's guilt, she would be condemned, and he continued in his official station. He also sent a private messenger to Bolton,

to ascertain if Mary would avoid the threatened disgrace by confirming her abdication, and remaining in England with a royal income. He then exhibited to the lords, representing Elizabeth, the letters of the silver casket. Lesley advised Mary to yield to the regent's propositions, to which she consented, October 13th.

While matters were on the eve of an adjustment, which would secure Murray's authority and the fallen Queen's honor, Elizabeth, who was apprized of the secret parley, interposed, and removed the court to Westminster, under her argus-eyed inspection.

The conference opened November 25th. "After Mary's commissioners had read a protest in conformity to the recent instructions they had received from their sovereign, the lord chancellor, who acted as president of the conference, informed Murray that the defence he had made at York was considered inconclusive: and, with a view to encourage the regent to speak more openly, he added: 'Her majesty principally wisheth that, upon the hearing of this great cause, the honor and estate of the Queen of Scots may be preserved, and found sincerely sound, whole, and firm; but if she shall be justly proved and found guilty of the murder of her husband, which were much to be lamented, she shall either be delivered into your hands, upon good and sufficient sureties and assurances for the safety of her life and good usage of her; or else she shall continue to be kept in England, in such sort as neither the prince her son, nor you, the Earl of Murray, shall be in any danger by her liberty. And for the time to come, her majesty will maintain the authority of the said prince to be king,

and the government of the realm by you, the Earl of Murray, according to the laws of Scotland.'

"Somewhat re-assured by this declaration, Murray spoke. He said that it had long been repugnant to his feelings to make public acts of a nature calculated to sully the honor of the mother of his sovereign in the eyes of strangers; but that he was now compelled by necessity to defend himself, and that all blame must rest upon those who had forced him to drag into light the proofs which he had hitherto concealed. However, as the verbal declarations which had been given in Elizabeth's name did not satisfy him, as he knew that princess would readily disavow them, Murray required an assurance, under the English Queen's hand, that she would pronounce a judgment, before he gave in his accusation. To this Cecil replied, that he had ample assurance already; and it ill became him to suspect or doubt the words of their royal mistress. 'Where,' he added, 'is your accusation?' 'It is here,' answered John Wood, the regent's secretary, plucking it from his bosom, 'and here it must remain till we see the Queen's handwrit.' As he spoke, the Bishop of Orkney—who was dissatisfied with the regent's vacillating policy, and who agreed with Morton, Lindsay, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Buchanan, in wishing to put matters to extremities—stepped up to Wood, snatched the paper from his hands, and running to the table, placed it before the English commissioners. Wood remained, for an instant, motionless, from real or feigned astonishment; but quickly recovering himself, he sprang after the bishop. He was, however, too late to stop him, and was obliged to resume his seat, amid the ill-suppressed

laughter of many present. This scene of violence and buffoonery formed the fitting introduction to the defamation of a Queen by her own subjects, before the subjects of another sovereign.

"In his accusation, Murray stated that as Bothwell was the author of Darnley's murder, so the Queen, his wife, had persuaded him to commit it; that she was not only in the foreknowledge of the same, but a maintainer of the assassins, as she had shown by thwarting the course of justice and by marrying the chief executor of that foul crime. To give additional force to this solemn denunciation of Mary's culpability, the father of the murdered king added his demand for vengeance. The Earl of Lennox presented himself before the English commissioners, and in the most pathetic language, accused Queen Mary of having conspired the death of his son, declared that until that moment he had not expected to obtain justice, except at the hand of God, but that he now laid his case in full confidence before their lordships, whom her majesty, the Queen of England, whose natural-born subject his son was, had authorized to hear this cause.

"Mary Stuart labored under a most terrible accusation. Her deputies were thrown into great consternation, and deliberated for two days upon the course they ought to pursue. Before breaking up the conference, in conformity to the latest instructions they had received from their sovereign, they repelled the imputations which had been cast upon her, in contempt of all divine laws and human obligations, and bitterly complained that so unlawful and unexpected a proceeding had been allowed in England. 'My

lords,' they wrote to the English commissioners, 'we are heartily sorry to hear that our countrymen intend to color their most unjust, ungrateful, and shameful doings against their natural sovereign, liege lady and mistress, who hath been so beneficial to them. Her grace hath made them, from mean men, earls and lords; and now, without any evil deserving on her part, in either deed or word, to any of them, she is thus recompensed with calumnious and false reports, and slandered to her reproach in this great matter, whereof they that now pretend herewith to excuse their treason were the first inventors—having written with their own hands that devilish bond, the conspiracy for the slaughter of that innocent young gentleman, Henry Stuart, late spouse of our sovereign, and presented her in marriage to their wicked confederate, James, Earl Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand people in Edinburgh.'

"After protesting against what 'these rebels and calumniators had done in Scotland,' Mary's commissioners affirmed that their usurpation was not assented to by an eighth part of the kingdom, and pointed out the consequences that might ensue to other princes, from granting impunity from this example of successful revolt and disloyal accusation. 'If this in them be tolerated,' they wrote, 'what prince lives upon the face of the earth whose ambitious subjects may not invent some slander, to deprive them of their supreme authority during their lifetime? Your wisdoms well understand how far their doings exceed the bounds permitted to subjects in the holy and sacred Scriptures, and violate the loyal duty which they owe to their native princes.

They attributed the insurrection of Murray's party in Scotland, not to any desire to punish the murderers of the King, but to their ambition to govern the kingdom; and in conclusion, they repeated that their mistress, whose ancestors had been independent monarchs, and who was herself an independent princess, could not be judged by any living authority, as the Queen of England herself had admitted.

"Their next step was to demand an immediate audience of Elizabeth. When admitted to her presence, they complained in strong terms of the manner in which the proceedings had been conducted. They reminded her of her promise, that in the absence of their royal mistress, nothing should be done which might affect her honor and authority; complained that, in violation of this promise, her subjects had been encouraged to load her with the most atrocious imputations; reiterated their demand that she should, in common justice, be allowed to appear in person and plead her own cause; and, meanwhile, besought that her accusers might be arrested. This bold demand perplexed Elizabeth, but she extricated herself from the dilemma with her usual astuteness. After declaring that she had never believed the Queen of Scots guilty of the murder of her husband, she went on to say, that as the regent and his colleagues had brought this accusation against her in their own defence, it would be unjust not to give them an opportunity to prove their allegations. She had, therefore, resolved to send for them, and to demand their proofs; after which she would willingly hear their mistress in her own justification. The partiality of this proceeding, which transformed those who were

accused of rebellion into the accusers of a murder, filled Mary's commissioners with indignation. They remonstrated against a further hearing being granted to Murray, and ended by solemnly protesting, that nothing that might be done hereafter had their consent, or should in any way prejudice the rights of their sovereign.

"Their indignation, however, was only assumed as a cloak for their alarm; and whilst they were most bitterly inveighing against the regent, they sent to him to propose a compromise. In order to prevent the production of those formidable documents, which Elizabeth's perfidious animosity so ardently desired, they suggested that she should become reconciled to his sister, who would, doubtless, restore him to her favor, and give him and his adherents every pledge that they might require. But this was only a reconciliation, whilst Murray and the lords of his party demanded an abdication. Elizabeth, moreover, declared that a queen, who labored under so grave a charge, ought not to compromise the matter, but to defend herself." *

During these proceedings, Mary wrote a letter of condolence and complaint to the king of Spain, which is a beautiful expression of sympathy and suffering.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING PHILIP.

"Most high and most puissant prince, my very dear and well beloved brother, cousin and ally, in the midst of my adversity, I have received, at the same moment, two pieces of news, from which it would seem that Fortune is redoubling her efforts to put an

* Mignet.

end to me altogether. One of these is that of the death of the queen, your consort madam, my good sister, whose soul may God receive! and the other, that some one has represented to you that I am wavering in my religion, and that, to my misfortune, you doubt, sometimes, whether I have any at all. These two accounts afflict me to such a degree, that, though one leaves some hope of solace and remedy, I see none for the other. I know not which of the two grieves me most. I have reason to mourn, as I do with you, the death of so good and virtuous a princess, whose loss, I am sure, will be most painful to you. As for myself, personally, it has bereft me of the best sister and friend I had in the world—of her in whom I had the greatest hope; and, though this loss is irreparable, though we ought to be resigned to it, and to submit to the will of God, who has been pleased to take her to himself, and to remove her from this life to enjoy another much more happy, still, it is impossible for me to mention, or even think of her, but my heart melts into tears and sighs, while the love I bore her is incessantly recalling her to my memory. I have, also, particular cause to be afflicted, as I am afraid of losing that which she had in part gained for me with you; that is to say, so good an opinion, that I would be very sure of finding in you that protection and favor which I need in my misfortunes, as I am certain that, if God had but spared her life until now, she would have answered to you for me, and have assured you that the reports made to you are absolutely false, which they really are. It is not long since I wrote to her, and I remember that, among other things, I intimated my firm resolution of living and

dying in the Roman Catholic faith, whatever ill usage I might have to endure here on that account, and this, too, before I had the least suspicion that any one had endeavored to calumniate me to you, though I have had a long experience of the wickedness of the rebels and other persons of this country, who tolerate them, because they are all of the same sect; but I never could have thought that calumny could have so many attractions for persons professing the Catholic religion, and of that faith I believe them to be who prejudiced you against me.

"I must now tell you that, whoever the person may be who has been the instrument of such disservice, I beseech you not to believe him, as he must be misinformed; and if you will please to honor me by appointing individuals worthy of confidence, to make inquiries of those persons who are about me, and who are the most capable of answering and speaking on any subject whatever, I am sure that they will certify the very contrary, for they have never heard me utter a single word, or do the least thing that could give them so unfavorable an idea of me.

"If I do not exercise my religion, it must not be concluded that I waver between the two. Besides, since my arrival in this kingdom, I begged to be, at least, allowed to exercise it in the same manner as the ambassador of a foreign prince is permitted to do; but was told that I was a kinswoman of the Queen's, and should never obtain that indulgence. An English minister was afterward sent to me; he merely recites some prayers in the vulgar tongue, which I had not the power to prevent, because I was, as I still am, deprived of my liberty, and closely

guarded. But if it be supposed I have done wrong by being present at those prayers which I attended, because I was not allowed any other exercise of my religion, I am ready to make any amends that may be considered necessary, that all the Catholic princes in the world may be convinced that I am an obedient, submissive, and devoted daughter of the holy Catholic and Roman church, in the faith of which I will live and die, without ever entertaining any other intention than this—an intention from which, with the help of God, I will never swerve in any way whatever.

"But, as a single word on this point ought to suffice, I will not trouble you further on the subject, except to entreat you to lend a favorable ear to that which I have charged the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador at the court of France, to say to your resident at the said court, that he may communicate it to you.

"These presents having no other object, I conclude, very humbly and affectionately recommending myself to your favor, and praying the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

"From the Castle of Bowton, in England, the last day of the month of November, one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight.

"Your very good sister, MARY."

The Scotch deputies, perceiving in the determination of Elizabeth to make Mary answer to the charge of complicity in the Darnley murder, and the proof which Murray was to offer of her guilt in his own defence, augmenting danger to their Queen, dissolved

the conference, entered a solemn protest against the course of arbitration, and withdrew, under the ostensible design of self-vindication. The regent, in accordance with the order of the English commissioners, furnished the contents of the silver casket, with manifold evidence of their authority. The court affirmed the testimony to be conclusive, and proceeded, in the face of renewed protest and dissolution of the conference, to their illegal yet withering conclusions. The privy council of Elizabeth approved the entire action, and resolved "that, as the crimes wherewith the Queen of Scots had been by common fame burdened, are made more apparent by many vehement allegations and presumptions upon things now produced, the Queen's majesty cannot, without manifest blemish of her own honor, agree to have the said Queen come into her presence until the said horrible crimes may be, by some just and reasonable answer, avoided and removed from her."

Elizabeth made propositions for permitting Mary to answer the fatal documents, which were promptly rejected. She also wrote to the prisoner in a sympathetic strain, but remained true to the policy of an imperial sway, whose unquestioned possession was more precious than a rival's bleeding heart.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

"Madame, while your cause hath bene here treated upon, we thought it not nedeful to write anything thereof unto you, supposing, alwaies, that your commissioners wolde thereof advertise as they sawe cause. And now, sithen they hawe broken this conference,

by refusing to make answer as they say by your commandment, and for that purpose they returne to you; although we thinke you shall by them perceive the whole proceedings; yet we cannot but let youe understand by these our lettres, that as we have been very sorry of long time for your mishappes and great troubles, so find we our sorrowes now dubled in beholding such thinges as are produced, to prove yourself cause of all the same. And our grief herein is also increased, in that we did not think at any time to have seen or hard such matters of so grate apparunce and moment to chardge and condemne youe. Nevertheless, both in frindship, nature and justice, we are moved to couer these matters, and stay our judgment, and not to gather any sence thereof to your prejudice, before we may hear of your direct answer thereunto, according as your commissioners understand our meaning to be, which, at their request, is delivered to them in writing. And as we trust they will aduise youe for your honor to agree to make answer, as we have mentioned them, so surely we cannot but as one prince and nere cousin regarding another, moost earnestlye as we may in terms of friendship, require and chardge you not to forbeare from answering. And for our parte as we are heartely sorry, and dismaide to find such mater of your chargde; and although we doubt not but you are well certified of the diligence and care of your ministers having your commission, yet can we not, besides an allowance generally of them, especially note to you your good choice of this bearer, the Bishoppe of Ross, who hath not only faithfully and wisely, but also so carefully and dutifully, for your honor and weale, behaved himself,

and that both privately and publickly, as we cannot but in this sorte commende him unto youe, as we wish you had many such devoted discrete seruuants. For in our judgement, we thinke we have not any that in loyalty and faithfulness can overmatche him. And this we are the bolder to write, considering we take it the best triall of a good seruante to be in aduersitie, out of which we wish you to be deliuered by the iustification of your innocency.

"And so trusting to hear shortly from you, we make an ende. Geven at Hampton Court, under our Signet the xxth of December, 1568, in the Leauenthe year of Reigne.

"Your good sister and cousin,

"ELIZABETH."

Mary refused to appear as a criminal, and displayed her great qualities of character. Amid all her calamities—changing policy—disappointments and tears, she had never despaired. Ambitious and bold in prosecuting her plans, she assumed the bearing and dignity of a Queen in the hour of greatest peril. She spurned the thought of self-defence, and turned with unsparing attack upon Murray. She used the following language in a message to her commissioners:

"Forasmuch as the Earl of Murray and his adherents, our rebellious subjects, have added unto their pretended excuses, produced by them for coloring of their horrible crimes and offences, committed against us, their sovereign lady and mistress, the charge that 'as the Earl of Bothwell was the princi-

pal executor of the murder committed on the person of Harry Stuart, our late husband, so we knew, counseled, devised, persuaded, and commanded the said murder,'—they have falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied; maliciously imputing unto us a crime of which themselves were authors and inventors, and some of them even executors." Repelling the charge of having impeded the proceedings of justice against Darnley's murderers, and of having given her consent beforehand to her marriage with Bothwell, she alluded, with consummate ability and eloquence, to the danger to which the lords declared that she had exposed her son: "That calumny," she pathetically observed, "should suffice for proof of all the rest. The natural love of a mother towards her bairn, confounds them; but in the malice and impiety of their hearts, they judge others by their own affection."

Accordingly, the Scotch commissioners presented their accusations of regicide against the regent and his friends, sustained and vehemently urged by the Bishop of Ross. Upon hearing of the new order of royal battle for sovereignty, the impetuous Lindsay sent a challenge to Lord Herries. January 11th Murray confronted Mary's representatives, and demanded proof of their charges. Their prosecution of him and defence of their Queen were indefinite, and too general for any important issue. An abdication was again proposed by Elizabeth, as the only final settlement of the distressing difference. But Mary's imprudence and guilt had gone abroad in published documents, and she would not voluntarily resign her crown, and in the act confess her criminality. She affirmed to the commissioners,—"the last words that

I shall utter in my life shall be the words of a Queen of Scotland."

The conference was closed, and the condition of Mary's affairs was worse than when it began. Murray returned to guard his throne, with the consent and approval of Elizabeth and her court. Mary wrote complainingly to the Queen of England:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ELIZABETH.

"Madam my good sister—I know not what occasion I can have given to any of this company, or at least of your kingdom, that they should endeavor to persuade you (as it appears to me by your letter,) of a thing so distant from my thoughts, whereof my conduct has borne witness. Madam, I came to you in my trouble for succor and support, on the faith of the assurance that I might reckon upon you for every assistance in my necessity; and, for this reason, I refrained from applying for any other aid to friends, relatives, and ancient allies; relying solely upon your promised favor. I have never attempted, either by word or deed, aught to the contrary, and nobody can lay to my charge anything against you. Still, to my unspeakable regret, I see my actions falsely represented and construed; but I hope that God and time, the father of truth, will declare otherwise, and prove to you the sincerity of my intentions towards you.

"In the meantime, I am treated so rigorously, that I cannot comprehend whence proceeds the extreme indignation which this demonstrates that you have conceived against me, in return for the confidence which I have placed in you, in preference to all other

princes, and the desire I have shown to obtain your favor. I cannot but deplore my evil fortune, seeing you have been pleased not only to refuse me your presence, causing me to be declared unworthy of it by your nobles; but also suffered me to be torn in pieces by my rebels, without even making them answer to that which I have alleged against them; not allowing me to have copies of their false accusations, or affording me any liberty to accuse them. You have also permitted them to retire, with a decree, in a manner absolving and strengthening them in this usurped so-called regency, and have thrown the blame upon me, and covertly condemned me without giving me a hearing, detained my ministers, caused me to be removed by force, without informing me what has been resolved upon respecting my affairs; why I am to be transferred to another abode; how long I am to remain there; how I shall be treated there; or for what reason I am confined, and all support and my requests refused.

"All these things, along with petty annoyances, such as not permitting me to receive news from my relatives in France, nor from my servants on my private necessities, having in like manner anew interdicted all communication with Scotland, nay, refused me leave to give any commission to one of my servants, or to send my letters by them, grieve me so sorely, and make me, to tell you the truth, so timid and irresolute, that I am at a loss how to act, nor can I resolve upon obeying so sudden an order to depart, without first receiving some news from my commissioners: nor that this place is a whit more agreeable than any other which you may be pleased to assign;

when you have made me acquainted with your good will toward me, and on what conditions.

"Wherefore, madam, I entreat you not to think that I mean any offence, but a natural care which I owe to myself and my people, to wish to know the end before disposing of myself so lightly, I mean voluntary; for I am in your power, and you can, in spite of me, command even the lowest of your subjects to sacrifice me without my being able to do anything but appeal to God and you, for other support I have none; and, thank God, I am so silly as to suppose that any of your subjects concern themselves about the affairs of a poor, forlorn foreign prince, who, next to God, seeks your aid alone, and, if my adversaries tell you anything to the contrary, they are false, and deceive you; for I honor you as my eldest sister; and notwithstanding all the grievances above mentioned, I shall be ever ready to solicit, as of my eldest sister, your friendship before that of any other. Would to God you would grant it me, and treat me as I should wish to deserve in your place! When this shall come to pass, I shall be happy; if not, God grant me patience, and you his grace. And here I will humbly recommend myself to yours, praying God to grant you, madam, health, and a long and happy life.

"From Bolton, this xxii, of January, (1568-9.)

"Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

'MARY R.'

Mary again requested a copy of the letters in evidence against her, but Elizabeth denied her, unless she would vindicate her impeached honor. This the resolute captive would do only in the presence of the

English Queen and foreign ambassadors. The hopeless contest continued for weeks. Permission was desired in behalf of Mary Stuart, to leave England, as the regent, her brother, had done. Instead of complying, Elizabeth removed her, under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, farther into the interior of the kingdom.

"It was January 26th, 1569, that Mary arrived at the Castle of Tutbury,* with impressions of terror and disgust, which were somewhat softened by the presence of her faithful friends, Lord and Lady Livingston, Mary Seaton, and a junior Livingston; nor, to a heart susceptible as hers of personal attachment, could it be a matter of indifference, that in her reduced train of domestics, she saw many faces long familiar to remembrance,†—the experienced Raulet, her French secretary, and the gallant William Douglass, her juvenile protector. In the family of her new guardians might be discovered the epitome of a court, with all its concomitant suspicions and intrigues, venal spies, and domestic discords. Naturally liberal and courteous, the Earl of Shrewsbury was united to a woman whose imperious and crafty temper constantly embittered his existence.

"In contemplating her desperate fortunes, she had no alternative but to suppress her discontent, to practice patience, and assume the language of resignation. Instead, therefore, of proclaiming her resentment for

* Tutbury is a small town on the river Dove, in the eastern part of the county of Stafford, and about 130 miles northwest of London.

† Those attendants were thirty in number. See Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," vol. ii.

the violence which had been offered to her inclinations, she not only affected to reconcile herself to a residence in Tutbury Castle, but by every possible concession labored to efface those religious or political impressions which might operate against her personal interests; and she not only persisted in attending public worship according to the Anglican church, but condescended to solicit an introduction to every person who visited Lord Shrewbury's family."

A writer has recorded an interview enjoyed with Mary at this time. "Her grace fell in talk with me on sundry matters, from six to seven of the clock, beginning first to excuse her ill English, declaring herself more willing than apt to learn that language, and how she used translations as a means to attain it, and that 'Mr. Vice-chamberlain (Knolles) was a good schoolmaster.' 'I asked her how she liked her change of air.' She said, 'If it might have pleased her good sister, she would not have removed at this time; but added (doubtless to qualify the objection), she was better content, because she was come so much nearer to the Queen's majesty, whom she desired above all things to see.' In reply to this, White had the effrontery to remark, that 'though denied the actual, she was effectively admitted to the real presence of his sovereign, whose affectionate and sisterly care was constantly manifested for her preservation. At the same time he reminded her of the perils from which she had escaped, and with solemn mockery felicitated her singular good fortune in having reached this hospitable réalm, and received in it such honorable and liberal treatment.' The insolence of this address was, perhaps, in some degree disguised by quaint and

commonplace recommendations of patience and piety, with which it was abundantly seasoned; and Mary listened to the didactic courtier with apparent complacency, gently remarking, that 'patience was indeed most necessary to her present state, and that she prayed God to bestow it on her.' Dismissing subjects of personal interest, the visitor demanded how the Queen passed her time when debarred by bad weather from using exercise. She replied, that 'she spent her time in needlework, and that the variety of the colors beguiled the occupation which she continued in, till admonished by the pain in her side, that she ought to desist.' She then entered into a comparison of painting with sculpture; but soon withdrew to her apartment, probably to vent the bitterness of her soul in murmurs against her pretended benefactors. Abstracted from the positive miseries of her present situation, Mary created to herself a new source of torment, by yielding to suspicions the most chimerical and absurd. That in Sir William Cecil she had an enemy she could not doubt; but instead of attributing his hostility to the true cause, namely, his intimate association with the Regent Murray, and his ardent attachment to the religion which that statesman professed, she suffered herself to be persuaded that the sagacious minister of Elizabeth labored to effectuate her exclusion from the throne of England, purposely that he might raise to it another pretender, the Earl of Huntingdon.* But, however credulous Mary might be, her English adversaries appear to have been equally addicted to con-

* The earl had married a female descendant of the Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward the Fourth.

jectural fancies, since Nicholas White professed to be perplexed by the motto which he saw embroidered on her cloth of estate—*dans ma fin est mon commencement* [In my end is my beginning;] and, for the sake of Elizabeth, adduced many reasons why 'the Queen of Scots should be seen as little as possible; besides, that she is a goodly personage, though not comparable to our sovereign; she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. Fame might move some to relieve her, and glory joined to gain, might stir others to adventure much for her sake; then joy is a lively impetuous passion, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest."

Murray was not at ease in his triumph. The Duke of Norfolk was exasperated because the regent had interposed new obstacles in the way of his marriage to Mary Stuart. Catholic earls were in a blaze of religious enmity. Assassination threatened him, and it was only by stratagem that he escaped. He appeased the Duke of Norfolk with pleas of necessity in appearing as the accuser of his sister, and promises of kindest interest for her future well-being. Mary immediately summoned her energies and her available influence to the work of attempting a deliverance from captivity. France was in sympathy with her design, Scotland was ready to furnish an armed force, and the north of England was roused, while Spain was moving for an invasion of Britain. The Duke of Chatellerault, and Lord Herries, with Huntley and Argyle, presented themselves to the insurgent lords, as Mary's chieftains. Murray retained with him the citizens of the towns, the Presbyterian clergy, and

the most energetic, effective members of the nobility. With this array of fighting men, and the reins of authority in his hands, he called a convention of his adherents to secure their formal approval of his operations, at Stirling Castle, and immediately marched forth to surprise the enemy. He came upon the Duke of Chatellerault and Herries, and compelled them to make a treaty, March 18th, 1569. They acknowledged the young King, on condition of restoring refugees; and agreed upon a conference, to be held in April, for the final arrangement of conflicting claims. The regent employed the truce wisely. He subdued the Borders, and strengthened himself for a controlling power in the assembly of the nobility. The evening before it commenced its sessions, April 9th, the duke and Herries received letters from Mary Stuart, condemning their concessions and plan of pacification. Chatellerault quailed beneath her reproaches, and slept till the dawn of morning. Lord Herries was so overcome, that he was taken severely ill. They therefore retracted, and Murray put an end to discussion and explanation, by ordering his guards to escort them to the Castle of Edinburgh, and place them under the care of Kirkaldy of Grange. He then marched triumphantly among the startled adherents of Mary, ravaged their country, and took their castles, leaving a track of conquest from Inverness to Dumfries, from Dunbar to Glasgow. He then ordered the assembly of the estates of the realm to convene July 25th, 1569. He was met at Inverness upon his return from the North, by Lord Boyd, whom Mary had dispatched to negotiate with her brother concerning articles of restoration to her kingdom and

her marriage with Norfolk. The duke was encouraged in his ambitious hopes, and a renewal of his scheme, which the disastrous issue of the conference interrupted. Mary's partizans at home, and the friends of peace in England, favored the union of a Catholic Queen with a Protestant duke, whose consanguinity to Henry VII. was an element of popularity. Elizabeth was feeble in health, and had made no provision for the succession to the throne; those circumstances increased the interest in the projected marriage, to which Mary Stuart consented, contrary to an expressed resolution not to marry again.

Murray's conquests in Scotland had augmented his own strength, and greatly darkened Mary's prospects. Elizabeth sent to the convention at Perth, in July, three propositions. The first was to restore Mary Stuart to her throne; the second, if more desirable, suggested the associating of young James with her in sovereignty; and the third, if the former were rejected, was that the people of Scotland receive the captive as a private person. The Queen of England, doubtless, did not expect the acceptance of either, amid the hostile parties and interests of a distracted realm. Mary was sadly disappointed in the issue of the discussions at Perth, and addressed herself to other possibilities of success, with an unflagging energy, which has a masculine tone, in singular contrast with her charming beauty. She corresponded affectionately with the Duke of Norfolk, who kept open doors, and with the tact of ancient Absalom, "stole the hearts of the people." Wrote the Ambassador Fenelon to Catherine de Medici:

"The affairs of the Queen of Scotland are obtain-

ing great strength by means of the Duke of Norfolk, who proposes to marry her . . . . and even if the Queen of England should not approve of the scheme, they will nevertheless carry it out, so far are matters already advanced . . . . and if she does not speedily resolve to procure the liberation and restoration of the Queen of Scotland, they will force her to do so against her will."

The watchful, observant, and determined Elizabeth had heard intimations of her rival's manifold plans, and replied to the plea of Fenelon in behalf of Mary:

"I am aware of all the intrigues that have been carried on since she entered the kingdom. Princes have large ears, which hear far and near. She has attempted to move the interior of this realm against me, by means of some of my subjects, who promise her great things; but they are persons who conceive mountains, and bring forth only molehills. They thought I was so foolish that I should not perceive their doings."

The Queen of England turned her searching suspicion toward the matrimonial plot, and soon knew it all.

When the perseverance of Norfolk, in the face of stern remonstrance, the treachery of privy counselors, and the extending sympathy of the nobility in the contemplated alliance, were fully revealed, the intelligent madness of her rage spread paleness and trembling among brave and powerful men. The duke withdrew into Norfolk, followed by others of the nobility, to mature a revolt. Spain had furnished money to the fugitive Queen and her lover. Pope

Pius V. wrote to the Spanish general * in Netherlands, where he had just crushed an insurrection:

"We conjure thy nobleness, and we beseech thee with our whole soul not to forget to restore to liberty our dear daughter in Jesus Christ, the Queen of Scotland, and again to establish her, if possible, in her kingdom. Thy nobleness could not undertake any thing more agreeable and more useful to Almighty God, than the deliverance of this Queen, who has deserved well of the Catholic faith, and who is oppressed by the power of her heretical enemies."

If there had been a united and fearless uprising of all who hated Elizabeth, in connection with foreign Catholic aid, even the haughty daughter of Henry VIII., and Protestantism also, might have yielded to the political storm. But no time was lost in the palace of the mighty Queen. Mary was ordered to be taken from Wingfield, one of the estates of the kind Earl of Shrewsbury, and more closely confined in the stronghold of Tutbury. Thwarted and endangered, the prisoner was undaunted. She wrote to Fenelon, "I beseech you, encourage my friends to be on their guard, and to act for me now or never;" and added, to Norfolk, an earnest entreaty to act bravely, and not trouble himself about her life, as God would keep her in safety. But Norfolk was not equal to the desperate game. He wrote an obsequious, cowardly letter to Elizabeth, and in reply, she commanded his immediate return to court. Overcome with fear, arising from his own irresolution, and his sovereign's threats, he went to London. His reception was an arrest, and imprisonment in the Tower.

* The Duke of Alva.

During the progress of these stirring, decisive events, Mary again transmitted a message to Elizabeth, from a pen as faithful and ready in correspondence, as was her restless brain in expedients for retrieving her lost fortunes.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madam, my good sister, wishing to exercise to the utmost the patience which it has pleased God to bestow on me in my adversity, I have refrained, as long as possible, from importuning you with my complaints, trusting that time, the father of truth, and your own good disposition, would lead you to perceive the malice of my enemies, who strive to trample me to the earth, and move you to pity one of your own blood—your equal; who, next to God, has chosen you from among all other princes for her refuge, confiding in your favorable letters and kind promises, strengthened by the ties of consanguinity and near neighborhood, so that I have placed myself, voluntarily, and without constraint, into your hands and power, where I have remained above two years, sometimes in hopes of your favor and support, from your courteous letters, at others, driven to despair by the underhand dealings and the false reports of my enemies.

"Nevertheless, my affection for you has always led me to hope for the best, and to suffer my wrongs patiently; but now that you listen to the malice of my rebels, as the Bishop of Ross informs me, refusing to hear the just complaint of her who has placed herself voluntarily in your power, and thrown herself

into your arms, I have presumed once more to try my fortune, and appeal to the Queen, my good sister herself. Ah, madam, what stronger proof of my friendship can I offer than in thus putting my trust in you! And, in return, will you destroy the hope which is placed in you by your sister and cousin, who neither can nor sought to obtain succor elsewhere? Shall my confidence in you be disappointed, my patience prove vain, and the friendship and respect I cherish for you, be despised to such a degree that I cannot obtain what you could not justly refuse to the greatest stranger in the world? I have never offended you, but have loved and honored you, and tried by all means to please you, and to assure you of my kind disposition toward you. False reports have been made to you about me, which you have credited so far as to treat me, not as a Queen and relative, come to seek support of you under your promise of favor, but as a prisoner, to whom you can impute the offense of a subject.

"Since, madam, I cannot obtain permission to declare to you, face to face, my sincerity towards you, at least permit Monsieur de Rosse, my ambassador, to give you an account of my public as well as private deportment, and he has on many occasions witnessed the grief I feel at not knowing wherein I have offended you, and on being compelled to repeat my old requests, respecting which I beg you to answer him and me too, namely, that it may please you, according to my first requests, to oblige me forever, by assisting me with your support to recover the state to which it has pleased God to call me among my subjects, as you have always promised; or if consanguinity, my

affection for you, and my long patience, should not seem to you to deserve this; at least do not refuse me the liberty to depart as freely as I came, and retire either to France or elsewhere, among my friends and allies; or should it please you to use rigor, and treat me as an enemy (which I have never been to you, nor desired to be,) allow me to redeem myself by ransom, as is the custom among all princes, even those who are enemies, and give me opportunity to negotiate with the said princes, my friends and allies, for raising the said ransom.

"And, meanwhile, I entreat you, as I have intrusted my person to you, and offered in all things to follow your counsel, that I may not be injured by the extortions of my rebels against my faithful subjects, and that I may not be weakened, for having relied on your promises, by the loss of Dombertran. [Dumbarton.]

"And if the false reports of my enemies prevent you from bestowing any consideration on these points and my humble requests, and you are resolved to take amiss all I have done, with the intention of pleasing you, at least do not permit my life to be endangered without having deserved it, although the Abbot of Donfermelin has spread a report, and boasted that it is your intention, which I cannot believe, to put me into the hands of my rebel subjects, or other such in that country, whom they equally approve of, and with whom I am not acquainted. I protest that I have never had the wish to offend you, or to do anything which could displease you; nor have merited the cruel return of being so slighted, as the Bishop of Rosse has already assured you, and

will do again, if you but please to grant him an audience. Wherefore, I beseech you most humbly, and as above, to acquaint him with your determination; if not out of affection, let it be out of pity. You have experienced what it is to suffer affliction; you may thence judge what others suffer from it.

"You have listened long enough to my enemies and their inventions to make you suspicious of me; it is time to consider what are their motives for this, and their double dealing towards me, and what I am to you, and the affection towards you which has induced me to come to a place where you have such power over me. Call to mind the offers of friendship which you have made me, and the friendship which you have promised me, and how much I wish to please you, insomuch as to have neglected the support of other princes, by your advice and on the promise of yours. Forget not the rights of hospitality in my case alone, and weigh all this with the respect of your confidence, honor, and pity for one of your own blood, and then I trust I shall have no occasion to repent me.

"Consider also, madam, what place I have filled, and how I was brought up, and, if experiencing, by means of my rebels or other enemies, so different a treatment from that, from hands from which I hoped for every comfort, how ill I can support such a burden, added to that of your displeasure, which is hardest of all to bear, which I have never deserved; nor to be so closely imprisoned, that I have no means of receiving intelligence about my affairs, or taking any steps whatever for settling them, or consoling in the least such of my faithful subjects as are suffering on my account. Far am I from supporting them as

I hoped. Again I beseech you, let not the false reports and malicious designs of my enemies make you forget so many other points in my favor; and, lastly, if nothing else can move your natural pity, despise not the prayers of the kings, my good brothers and allies, to whose ambassadors I have written, begging them to make urgent intercession with you in my behalf.

"And that you may not take it amiss, I entreat you to excuse me, if, in case you will not listen to your natural kindness and pity, for which I have loved and honored you so much, I beg them to inform the said kings of my necessity, and to solicit them to lend that aid in my affairs which I have expected from you, and which I now crave from you before any other. If you are pleased to grant it me, as I hope, you will find in the end that I have never deserved to lose it. If in this, or in any point of my letter, I offend you, excuse it, on account of the extreme urgency of my cause, and the infinite trouble that I am in.

"I conclude, by referring to the Bishop of Ross, who will give you every information, and beg you to credit him as myself, who present my humble recommendations, praying God to make you thoroughly acquainted with both my intention and my conduct.

"From Tutbury, this x. of November, [1569.]

"Your very kind and affectionate
sister and cousin, MARY R.

"I beg you to excuse me if I write ill, for my imprisonment makes me unwell, and less capable of this or any other employment."

The Catholic adherents of Norfolk had gone too far to pause in rebellion. After conferring with the Pope, and appealing to interested nobles, they marched boldly, numbering five hundred horsemen, toward Durham. Upon a showy banner was painted Christ with the five bleeding wounds, which was held proudly up by "Old Richard Norton." The gates of Durham flew open at the approach of the army; the Bible was burned, the prayer-book destroyed, the communion table demolished, and the papal forms of worship established on the ruins. The rebels issued a proclamation, and soon mustered more than six thousand cavalry and infantry.

It was a crisis to rouse the spirit and test the capacity of Elizabeth. She arrested Throckmorton, the Bishop of Ross, and other distinguished friends of Norfolk. She transferred Mary Stuart to Coventry,* a strong castle in Warwickshire, beyond the possibility of sudden escape, and with orders that she be executed if the rebellion succeeded. Men-of-war were commissioned to cruise between the English coast and Netherlands, and Elizabeth gathered with great rapidity her royal soldiery to the imperial standard. The enemy, after vain attempts to enter large towns, besieged Barnard Castle, and at the end of a twelve days' assault, assisted by mutiny within its walls, took the fortress, December 12th. Four days later, the insurgents, despairing of victory, disbanded, and the chieftains fled for refuge to Scotland. The Earl of Northumberland fell into the hands of

* Coventry is 85 miles northwest of London. By this remove Mary was brought nearer London, though she was destined not to see the face of Elizabeth for some time to come.

Murray, and was sent to take Mary's vacant place in *Lochleven Castle*.

To confirm his shaken authority, Murray now applied to the Queen for money and the munitions of war, and desired that his sister be sent to his safe keeping. While the request was under discussion, the regent traveled from Stirling toward Edinburgh. At Linlithgow, through which he was to pass, lived James Hamilton, of Bothwell-Haugh, a deadly enemy of Murray. Confiscation, which was the spoils of victory, impoverished him, with many others. His wife had been turned from home by Bellenden, a devoted servant of the regent, to whom the small estate had been given as a reward, in the darkness of night, and left to wander partially clothed till morning, amid a desolate forest. When the dawn illumined her path, reason's light was quenched. She was a despairing maniac. Bothwell-Haugh swore vengeance on Murray, as the responsible author of the ravages which secured the cruel deed. The regent approached Linlithgow with his imposing train.

"The Archbishop of St. Andrews, uncle of Bothwell-Haugh, possessed a house, in front of which Murray and his cavalcade would necessarily pass. This house was placed at the disposal of Bothwell-Haugh, who made every preparation for the unfailing performance of the act of vengeance which he had concerted with the other Hamiltons. He took his station in a small room, or wooden gallery, which commanded a full view of the street. To prevent his heavy footsteps being heard, for he was booted and spurred, he placed a feather-bed on the floor; to secure against any chance observation of his shadow,

which, had the sun broke out, might have caught the eye, he hung up a black cloth on the opposite wall; and, having barricaded the door in front, he had a swift horse ready saddled in the stable at the back. Even here his preparations did not stop; for, observing that the gate in the wall which enclosed the garden was too low to admit a man on horseback, he removed the lintel stone, and, returning to his chamber, cut, in the wooden panel immediately below the lattice window, where he watched, a hole just sufficient to admit the barrel of his caliver. Having taken these precautions, he loaded the piece with four bullets, and calmly awaited his victim."

Murray was warned to avoid High street, because rumors were rife of fatal plots. But the dense crowd flocked the way, and he rode calmly forward, amid the loud shouts of an excited populace. When he reached the archbishop's house, Hamilton took cool and fatal aim at the noble form of Murray. There was a startling report, and the regent reeled from his horse, while the silence of horror, broken with muttered wrath, fell suddenly upon the exultant throngs. Then they rushed like sounding surges toward the house, from which Hamilton fled before an entrance could be made, and reached safely Hamilton Castle. He was welcomed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews and nobles present. The same day, January 20th, 1570, Murray died. He expired placidly as the setting sun, in Christian faith and hope. He was a great and heroic man, upon the surface of whose splendid career were acts of violence and treachery, not excusable, yet scarcely avoidable, from the intrigues and pressure of tempestuous times. His peo-

ple called him the Good Regent, and his administration of justice entitled him to the compliment. A sincere Protestant, his court wore ever the air and sober livery of the Puritan religion. Ambitious, and not always just, his tragical death is another illustration of the uncertainty and brevity of earthly honors.

The fall of this brilliant ruler, whose virtues, considering all the circumstances of history, altogether transcended his errors, reanimated the faction of Mary Stuart. The Hamiltons again took the field; Lethington, and other distinguished captives of Murray were released; the Pope issued a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth, to revenge the Catholics; and a certain Leonard Dease, of Gilsland, had raised the standard of insurrection, with three thousand men. The Queen of England felt that danger threw ominous shadows upon her throne. The Earl of Surrey and Lord Scrope were sent to ravage Scotland on the east and west, and the Earl of Lennox was dispatched to guide the party of his son, young James VI., in the place of the murdered Murray. During these bloody expeditions, Mary wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, urging her cause:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"TUTBURY, 30th April, (1570.)

"Monsieur de Glascow—I would not for the world neglect things of importance to me, or which concern my duty to God; and hence it is that, seeing an army

in my country, and a most injurious proclamation issued against me, I have risked this dispatch to the king, monsieur my good brother, and to the queen, and to all my relatives, wherein I have recommended you to them, and begged them to afford you the best means for applying yourself to my affairs. I therefore inform you of this, that you may act accordingly; and, whatever may come of it, I beg you on no account to be absent from court at a time so important as this, but to urge warmly the promised support.

"The rest I write you in cipher, but this I wished to signify with my own hand, to inform you of the need that I and mine have of prompt assistance. In short, make one last effort for your Queen and good mistress, your country and kindred, and after me, for your future prince. The Bishop of Ross has informed me of a deanery which I have given him to keep him in my service, for he has nothing whatever in Scotland. I beg him to get this matter settled forthwith, and desire that George * be dispatched from London without difficulty, for his services merit it, and the good example he has set is important at this moment. James and Baron are in my employ, and are not gone to him but with a promise to be always faithful to me. It is, therefore, my intention that their wages be paid them, about which you will give directions to my treasurer; and the same in regard to Henri Kir in quality of secretary; and I shall be very glad when Roullet returns, and send me, if you can obtain it, a passport for Thomas Levingston to come to serve me; for should Crafurd go abroad,

* George Douglas.

and I think he will, I shall not have any gentlemen attendants left, and they will not permit any to come to me from Scotland. So, referring to my cipher, and what you will hear from the bearer of this, I will conclude, praying God to have you in his holy keeping.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

The captive Queen again addressed her representative at the court of France on the 13th of May, commending Douglas, who, it will be recollected, served her while at Lochleven Castle, and giving a glimpse of her imprisonment:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"Monsieur de Glascow—George Douglas having obtained permission to visit me, and to make his apologies, and to beg that I would arrange his affairs in such manner as I may judge proper, provided that what I have given be secured to him, should I think he merits it, or at least, that he may be put to the proof if he has ever offended me, explaining that what he wrote to me had no other object than to let me know that, rather than I should doubt his fidelity, or before he would seek an appointment without my leave, he would relinquish all that I had given him, or might give him. I have been very glad to afford him an opportunity to state his reasons, from the desire I have that he should give me as much occasion to be a good mistress to him in future, and from the pleasure I shall feel in recompensing the great and

signal service which he has done me, and which, he says, he wishes to continue to do me as long as he lives, of which I have no doubt; and in consequence of this, I have not only favorably received his excuses and justifications, but relieved him from all fear that I shall ever listen to any report to his disadvantage, without first hearing him. I inform you of this purposely, that you may cause him to be paid quarterly, as usual, wherever he may be, according to the capacity under which he is entered, notwithstanding the commands I formerly gave you and others to the contrary.

. . . . . .

"As respects myself, my health is but very indifferent. I am strictly guarded, and without any means of arranging my affairs, either here, or in Scotland, or abroad, unless M. de la Mothe, by command of the king, takes pity upon me. I have but just thirty persons—men, women, servants and officers—as you will perceive by the list and the new orders, which will show whether I am a prisoner or not.

"Roullet has a continual fever, which is the reason why I cannot write to you more at length, which would be troublesome to me just now. Several of my people are ill; so is also M. de Ross, and so he hears nothing about my affairs, and my people are badly treated, as M. de Ross will inform you. I beg you will represent all this to the king, the queen, his mother, and messieurs, his brothers, requesting they will send some one to speak in my behalf.

"Awaiting your reply to this by Kir, I will conclude by recommending myself to your favor, and praying God to grant you a long and happy life.

"Send me a physician, consulting Lusgerie, to whom I beg you to remember me; and as regards your own affairs, tell me what you think would suit you, and I will write immediately to support you, for I am aware of your necessities.

"I had forgotten to tell you that, as to the order for a thousand francs, which is in your hands, you must retain eight hundred, and give the remainder to Kir, for the purpose of paying his debts. I have also granted him another thousand, by virtue of a letter I have written to my treasurer, and which will serve as an order, until such time as you send one for my signature, also for the purpose of paying his debts there; these two thousand francs must be deducted from the gift which I made him. I beg you will not fail doing this; and for your security, this present, signed by my hand, must suffice until you send me an order, as I fear my treasurer will not honor any but written orders.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R.

"If M. the cardinal is at too great a distance, send him my letters by some one, and forward to me his answer, and meanwhile, let me know by Kir, what is your opinion, and what will be the best and safest means of securing his money, and the most convenient manner for me to pay it."

July 12th, the Earl of Lennox was formally elected regent of Scotland, while the Duke Chatellerault, and the Earls Huntley and Argyle were the leaders of the opposing faction, which was nearly equal in strength to the royal administration.

Elizabeth, upon the restoration of the regency, evacuated the kingdom, and opened a discussion of the treaty with Mary Stuart, which was proposed the year before at Perth.

After a protracted consideration at Chatsworth,* where she had been confined since May, the conditions were mainly accepted, and the prisoner's heart was wild with hope and gladness. Her weary form became elastic, and her pale face luminous with anticipated deliverance. To Elizabeth she wrote:

"No scruple now remains to prevent our sincere and reciprocal friendship, which I desire beyond that of any other prince, in proof of which I consent to place in your hands the dearest jewel and only comfort which God has given me in this world, my only and beloved son, whose education, though desired by many, is entrusted to you, to be preferred both by him and by me to all others.

. . . . . .

"My intention is sincere to observe the conditions agreed on between us, and I am resolved henceforward, in order to end my unfortunate voyage, to cast my anchor in the port of your natural goodness towards me. Having recourse, instead of any other surety, to the merit of my humble submission and obedience, which I offer you as though I had the honor to be your daughter (as I have be your sister

* Chatsworth, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, was the most splendid private residence in England, perhaps in Europe. It is located on the river Derwent, in the county of Derby, and is about 30 miles due north of Tutbury, Mary's former place of activity.

and next cousin,) and yielding to none in desire to obey and honor you in future, may it please you to accept me as entirely yours."

Mary alludes to the treaty in a letter upon the death of John Beton, a near friend, whom she sincerely mourned:

TO MONSIEUR DE GLASCOW, MY AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

"From Chatsworth, October, [1570.]

"Monsieur de Glascow—Instead of relieving you, as I hoped, by these letters, from all anxiety, and assuring you by this dispatch of the entire confidence which I place in you, and the satisfaction which it gave me to receive so high a testimony of the sincerity of your conduct, as that given me by the cardinal, my uncle, in his letter, I am obliged, to my extreme regret, to communicate a mournful circumstance, which has caused me the deepest sorrow, as Roullet and others of your good friends can testify. In short, God has at one stroke afflicted you and me, by taking from us your brother, the only minister whom I selected to comfort and counsel me, in this my long affliction and banishment from among my good servants and friends. We are bound to praise God for all things, a point on which you can better admonish me than I you, but more especially ought we to praise him, because he died a good Christian, a good man, beloved by every one, regretted both by friends and enemies: but above all by me, who, having performed the duty of a kind mistress and friend,

in seeing him properly treated and attended to, served as a witness of his good end, solemnizing with my tears the close of his life, and accompanying his soul with my prayers. Now he is happy, and there, whither we must all hope to go, while I am deprived, amid all my afflictions, of a faithful and tried servant. The sorrow and grief which I know you will feel for his death, would make me apprehensive of losing you likewise, so incessant are become the attacks of misfortune, were I not aware of the good sense you possess, and that your fear of God, and your great zeal for my interest, will cause you to submit to his will, and to take care of yourself in order to serve me.

"I have made up my mind to have your other brother about me, and in the same capacity as the deceased, thereby confirming the gift made to the latter, agreeably to his last wish, which he called me to witness. I, therefore, beg you to send him to me, fully instructed as to what you may desire I should do for you and yours, relying upon it that I shall exert myself as zealously as for any servant I have, and more so. He had two of his relatives and servants here; the one named Arelin Bethem, who was formerly with me, and whom, for his sake, I shall be most willing to serve whenever occasion may offer; the other, Thomas Archibald, whom I have taken into my household, and am equally disposed to serve. If I could do more to show how much I loved and esteemed your late brother, most gladly would I do it.

"As to yourself, Roullet can bear witness how little heed I gave to those who wished to lessen you in my good opinion; to prove this to you, I will either

make Quantly, on whom all the blame is thrown, confess his fault, for which he shall be rewarded according to his deserts, or give the name of his author, which I shall transmit to M. the cardinal and you, so that you can consult together, and for your satisfaction take such steps as you may consider necessary for your honor, and for making public the high opinion and confidence I have in you, of which I beg you to be assured; and as a proof that you may not doubt the assurance which I give you of my favor, take all the care you can of yourself, that you may serve me whenever it may please God that I shall return to my country, where I hope to have you near me, as one of the pillars on which I shall found my government.

"If this treaty be soon concluded, I shall be very glad to see you here. In the meantime I shall write you a full account of my affairs by the bearer of this, whom I beg you will send back as soon as possible with your answer, as there are certain points concerning which it is necessary that I should have a reply in a month. I have signed an acknowledgment for something that I owe him; I beg you will get his business dispatched, and send him back to me forthwith.

"Make my apologies to those to whom I have not written with my own hand; for, since the death of Beton, I have had a complaint in one eye, which is much inflamed, and I think that the pleasure I take in writing to you will not amend it, as you will perceive from the first page.

"Now, to conclude, I pray God to comfort you, and to be assured of my good will and gratitude for

your good services; and send your brother to me, for I have no one here to attend upon me, and to give orders to my household, and, besides, he belongs to you; though I am sure you have a good friend in Roullet, and a friend in Seyton, who will be as ready in your absence to render you the services of a good friend, as a relation, or any other person that you might have about me, both for the affection which she bears toward all those whom she knows to have been faithful servants to me, and on account of the kindness she feels for her good friends, among whom she reckoned your deceased brother, whose soul may God take into his keeping; and grant consolation to you and to me, an end to my afflictions, or patience to bear them according to his good pleasure, to whom be praise, in good or in evil.

"Your very kind mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

But Mary was doomed to speedy disappointment. Charles IX. of France, and other foreign princes, disapproved of parts of the treaty. Elizabeth embraced the embarrassments as a sufficient reason for closing the negotiation; and the promise of a pacific disposal of conflicting interests was entirely blasted. Mary was beneath a sky of deeper gloom than ever before since her captivity. "During the two years and a half which she had been a prisoner in England, she had sought to obtain her deliverance and restoration by the exertions of her party in Scotland, by her marriage with the head of the English nobility, by the insurrection of Elizabeth's Catholic subjects, by the union of the Scottish lords, sustained by the court

of France, after Murray's death, and, finally, by an accommodation with her fortunate and powerful rival. All attempts had, however, failed. The Scotch who were faithful to her cause, had been overcome by Murray in 1569, and weakened by Elizabeth in 1570; her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk had met with but little favor in Scotland, and had been positively prohibited in England; the English Catholics had twice revolted, and had been twice defeated; the accommodation negotiated at Chatsworth, with so many concessions on her part, had been rejected; and France had not only failed to support her, but seemed likely to renounce her ancient league with Scotland, to form a new alliance with England."

She now turned to Philip II. of Spain, whom she hoped might be persuaded to attempt an invasion of England. To do this, she must assure him of the cooperation of the Duke of Norfolk at the head of an armed force, whenever the allies landed on English soil. Mary had maintained a familiar correspondence with Norfolk in cipher unknown to Elizabeth. The plague, which was raging in London, entered the Tower, and the duke was permitted to retire to a private residence, partially guarded, upon a solemn promise to close forever all communication with Mary Stuart, and abandon the design of marriage. With the doom of a traitor impending if he broke his pledge, to which he consented, he immediately renewed the most tender expressions of affection for the prisoner, and she reciprocated the devotion in her own ardent and eloquent language. He was thereupon ripe for a conspiracy, the last resort of thwarted ambition.

The Bishop of Ross, in connection with the Florentine Ridolfi, matured the plan of operations. Ridolfi was a wealthy banker, a relative of the Medici family, and a man of great influence with the English nobility. The Duke of Norfolk was consulted, and the Florentine dispatched to the Duke of Alva, residing at Brussels. Through this Catholic counselor and general, it was hoped that an appeal to the Pope and Philip II. would secure soldiers and arms for dethroning the Queen of England, and restoring Mary to sovereignty. The fading, defeated captive engaged with youthful enthusiasm in the plot. The Duke of Alva thus addressed King Philip on the subject:

"Considering the pity and interest with which the unworthy treatment of the Queen of Scotland and her adherents cannot fail to inspire your majesty; considering the obligation under which you are placed by God, to obtain by all means in your power, the triumphant restoration of Catholicism in those islands; considering, moreover, the injuries which the Queen of England does in so many ways, and on so many sides, to your majesty and your subjects, without any hopes of being on better terms with her, as regards religion and neighborhood, as long as she reigns; it appears to me that the plan of the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk, if it could be properly carried out, would be the best method of remedying the evil.

. . . . . .

"If the secret were not kept, the enterprise would fall to the ground; the lives of both the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk would be endan-

gered; the Queen of England would find the opportunity, which she has sought so long, for getting rid of her and her partisans; the hopes of the Catholic religion would be crushed forever, and the whole would recoil upon your majesty. . . . Wherefore, no one can think of advising your majesty to furnish the assistance sought of you, under the form in which it is requested. But if the Queen of England should die, *either a natural death or any other death,* or if her person should be seized without your majesty's concurrence, then I should perceive no further difficulty. The proposals between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou would cease, the French would be less fearful that your majesty should seek to become master of England, the Germans would look upon you with less distrust, since you would have no other object but to sustain the Queen of Scotland against the rival claimants of the crown of England. In that case, it would be easy to reduce them to reason before other princes could interfere, as we could profit by the convenience of the Duke of Norfolk's county, where we could disembark the six thousand men he requires, not within the forty days during which he could maintain himself unassisted, but within thirty or twenty-five days."

July 7th, 1571, Ridolfi divulged, at the Escurial, the scheme of conspiracy. It was to murder Elizabeth while she was traveling, and one James Graffs was the accepted assassin; then revolution would finish the papal work in both kingdoms. While the mode of destroying the English Queen, and other points in the bold design, were under exciting discussion in the Spanish court, and among interested

princes, suspicion, first awakened in the mind of the vigilant Cecil, by letters from Bailly, who was confined in Marshalsea prison on account of an open defence of Mary, led to a full disclosure of the plot. These letters were directed to the Bishop of Ross, and related to the conspiracy. Bailly was removed to the Tower and put on the rack.

He confessed all he knew, establishing the existence of the daring combination, but did not reveal the names of the guilty parties. In this uncertainty the affairs continued, until several months later, when civil war in Scotland was resumed with terrific severity. The Archbishop of St. Andrews was captured by the Earl of Lennox and executed. His death lent an unsparing cruelty to the contest. Mary, in a brief letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, disclosed her unbroken attachment to the Catholic faith:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"SHEFFIELD,* 18th September, 1571.

"M. de Glascow—though John Gordon, the bearer of this, is a Protestant, yet he is a faithful servant to me, and has written against Knox and the ministers, in favor of my authority, and I hope that in time and in the society of learned men, he will become converted; to this end I beg you will introduce him to the most learned, as Master Riggan began; and besides, my Lord Hundly, and my lord his father, are now at

* Mary had been removed from Chatsworth to this place. Chatsworth is about fifteen miles directly southwest of Sheffield.

the castle, having lost all their property for adhering to my cause. I beg you, therefore to do all in your power for the bearer, agreeably to the open letter which I have given to the bearer, and to continue to him his usual pension, and take pains to gain him, for he is a very learned young man, of an amiable disposition, and related to many worthy persons. I have no doubt, if he could but be sent to an instructor who is a Jesuit, he might turn Catholic; and to this end, M. de Glascow, take care to send a supply of money, and keep up a communication with the palace, and act as a faithful servant of God and of your country. Take care of our country, as I have not means of doing so, and be assured that you will find in me a kind mistress and friend. Solicit all the ambassadors and my relations to join you in interceding for me, and I pray God to grant his grace to you and patience to me. Ask the king to obtain for me a confessor, to administer the sacraments, in case God should call me by one way or other.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

The defenders of Mary Stuart in Scotland were reduced to extremity, and Highford, a secretary of the Duke of Norfolk, volunteered to transmit money and dispatches to Lord Herries. But the dispatches treacherously reached Cecil, whom Elizabeth had created Lord Burghley. Norfolk, Highford, and Barker were arrested. Highford revealed the whole conspiracy minutely, and the cipher used by the duke in his correspondence concerning Ridolfi's mission. Barker, who was aged and feeble, when he saw

the rack, confessed, and confirmed the statements of Highford. Norfolk was now hopelessly involved in treason. After an attempt at denial, he was overwhelmed with the testimony of his friends, and exclaimed, "I am betrayed!" He then addressed his humble petitions for mercy to Elizabeth. The alarmed and inflexible Queen resolved to make him an example to the restless nobles, and indicate her royal strength and policy to foreign foes. The lords implicated by the letters were arrested, and the trial of Norfolk appointed. January 14, 1572, he was summoned before a jury of twenty-seven peers, in Westminster Hall.

"The duke appeared before his judges with all the dignity of his rank, and displayed greater firmness of mind than he had previously manifested. He was accused of having conspired to deprive the Queen of her crown, and consequently, of life; of having sought to marry Mary Stuart, (whom he had termed an adulteress and murderess,) out of ambition, that he might use the claims she possessed to procure his own accession to the throne of England; of having aided the Queen's enemies in Scotland; and of having plotted on the Continent with the Pope and the King of Spain, to change the religion, and overthrow the government of England. His answer to these charges was skilful and plausible. Admitting all that he could not disprove, he confessed that he had been aware of matters which he ought not to have known, but to which he had never been willing to consent. Although he repudiated indignantly all thought of treason against the Queen, and alleged his inaction as a proof of his innocence, he was unani-

mously found guilty by his peers, and, on the 16th of January, condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. On hearing his sentence, he protested that he should die as faithful to his Queen as any man living; then turning to his judges, he said with emotion; 'My lords, seeing you have put me out of your company, I trust shortly to be in better company. I will not desire any of you all to make any petition for my life; I will not desire to live: I am at a point. Only I beseech you, my lords, to be humble suitors to the Queen's majesty for my poor orphan children, that it will please her majesty to be good to them, and to take order for the payment of my debts, and some consideration of my poor servants.'

"On his return to the Tower, he wrote to the Queen a letter expressive of the deepest affliction and the most heartfelt repentance, recommending to her generosity his children, 'who,' he said, 'now they have neither father nor mother, will find but few friends.' He did not cease to deplore the connection which he had formed with the Queen of Scotland, and, in bitter truthfulness, he remarked, 'that nothing that anybody goeth about for her, nor that she doeth for herself prospereth.'"

Mary, closely confined in the Castle of Sheffield, deprived of company and fresh air, sank in health and spirits under this fatal blow to her wild and soaring hopes. Elizabeth filled to the brim her cup of woe, by hurling long delayed reproaches upon the captive; accusing her of ungoverned passions, ingratitude, and the ruin of Norfolk. Mary Stuart, true to her ancestral blood, retorted, with bitter charges of deception and cruelty. She did not conceal her dis-

appointment in the failure of the conspiracy, and said "she determined to allow herself to be fed with hopes no longer." She expressed patience, resignation to God's will, and courage to meet death.

She affirmed that she did not entertain the thought of marrying Norfolk without the consent of the council of England, and added respecting him and other nobles, "that she should think herself worthy to be universally reputed ungrateful, and of bad natural disposition, if she did not employ all the means which God had left her in this world to mitigate the anger of the Queen of England against the Duke of Norfolk, and the other nobles who had got into trouble by bearing her some good will, and if she did not supplicate her good sister to grant them her peace, or at least prevent them suffering any pain on her account." Elizabeth vacillated on the sentence of the duke's execution. Justice impelled her to sign his death-warrant; then the remembrance of his relationship and high position would induce her to revoke it. The House of Commons, in which the Puritans had the ascendency, meanwhile demanded the execution of Mary Stuart; a step that would "lay the axe at the root of the evil." Elizabeth refused to "put to death the bird, which, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her for protection." But she no longer hesitated as to the fate of Norfolk. May 31st, she signed the fatal warrant; and at 8 o'clock on the morning of June 2d, he was led to the scaffold upon Tower Hill. The nobler qualities of his character shone forth finely beneath the gathering shadows of the spirit-land. His calm and unshrinking approach to the margin of dissolution chained the at-

tention of all spectators. In a long address, he avowed his sincere devotion to the Protestant religion; thanked Elizabeth for her promised kindness to his offspring; and conscious of his own ambitious aberrations from loyalty, he uttered these words of warning: "They that have factions, let them beware that they be given over betimes. Seek not to deviate God's doings, lest God prevent yours." The people were affected to tears. The duke then offered earnest prayer, and refusing to have his eyes covered, serenely laid his head on the block. The descending axe did its work, and the troubled brain of the conspirator was at rest forever! Mary Stuart's cause in England also expired on that scaffold. Insurrections and plots had succeeded each other in dark and sanguinary colors. Norfolk resembled Darnley in an indecision which ruined his most promising plans, but in everything else, was vastly the superior of the murdered King. Francis II., Chatelard, the mad lover, Bothwell, and Norfolk, had left Mary's side, and still she lived, weak in frame and strong in ambition.

Manifold and oppressive must have been the recollections that thronged the mind of the illustrious captive in her lonely apartments! The gay dreams of a French court, the scenes of festivity and violence in Scotland's capital, the excitements of misplaced and lawless affection, lay in the past; while the blackness of despair hung menacingly on the future. Unfortunte Queen, whose beauty was the rainbow upon the bosom of a perpetual storm!

CHAPTER VIII.

The Earl of Lennox had been shot by Mary's partisans, and the Earl of Mar unanimously appointed his successor, at a meeting of the King's nobles the next day. Unable to crush the faction of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth effected a truce between the hostile armies. A treaty with France calmed her fears of trouble with Charles IX., when suddenly, as a falling thunderbolt, came the tidings of the merciless butchery of St. Bartholomew. A shriek of horror rose from Protestant England. The Queen assembled her council, and denied for some days audience to the French ambassador. When she relented, and consented to see him, she appeared with the ladies of her court, dressed in deep mourning. A sepulchral silence pervaded the apartment, and sealed every lip. While Fenelon* passed through the crowd, the eyes of the courtiers fell, and not a smile illumined his advance toward the haughty and solemn sovereign. She expressed her sad surprise at the permission of his King to that Papal slaughter of Protestants, and her apprehension of betrayal, notwithstanding the treaty. She immediately fortified Dover and the Isle of Wight, levied troops, and made preparations for invincible self-defence.

* When Charles IX. directed Fenelon to apologize to Queen Elizabeth for that dreadful massacre, he replied, "Sire, address yourself to those who advised you to do it."

Mary Stuart became an object of increasing solicitude and vigilance. She was the star of Catholic empire in Scotland and England. Elizabeth determined, as her only security, to keep her captive in perpetual imprisonment. Divines and jurists united in proving Mary worthy of death, and both houses of Parliament desired to bring in a bill of attainder, which the Queen, to her honor, rejected. Mary was again visited by English lords, and questioned upon the charges preferred against her. She denied any designed hostility to Elizabeth, in the proposed alliance with Norfolk, and affirmed that Ridolfi's embassy aimed only at the deliverance of Scotland, and her relations to Philip II. and Pius IX. The Queen of England disregarded the explanations, and entered upon an experiment similar to that often repeated vainly in Mary's experience.

A plan was secretly laid to strengthen Protestantism in Scotland, by harmonizing antagonistic leaders, and delivering the royal prisoner to them for execution, upon their urgent solicitation. Sir Henry Killigrew, brother-in-law of Cecil, (Lord Burghley,) left England on this mission, September 7th, in the fever of excitement which followed the intelligence of the Parisian tragedy. John Knox was in Edinburgh, smitten with apoplexy, and evidently near death. The deliberate murder of *seventy thousand* Protestants, among them distinguished friends, roused the wasting energies of the great Reformer. He was carried to the church, and mounting his pulpit, poured forth a torrent of eloquent execration on the slayers of his brethren. His influence aided the cause of Killigrew. The Earls Morton and Mar ac-

cepted the proposition of Elizabeth on these conditions:

"That the Queen of England should take their young King under her protection: that his rights should not be invalidated by any sentence which might be passed upon his mother, and that they should be maintained by a declaration of the English Parliament: that a defensive alliance should be established between the two kingdoms: that the Earls of Huntingdon, Bedford or Essex, should be present at Mary's execution with two or three thousand men, and should afterwards assist the troops of the young King to reduce the city of Edinburgh: and finally, that that fortress should be placed in the regent's hands, and that England should pay all the arrears due to the Scottish troops."

The extravagant terms of the noblemen, with the sudden death of the regent, defeated the scheme. November 24th, Morton was elected to the regency of Scotland. Upon that same day in Edinburgh, John Knox was calmly waiting for his departure from earth. He had given to the session of his church a dying charge of great eloquence and power, which deeply impressed the minds of the reverent spectators. With a kindling eye and difficult breathing, he said, in vindication of his ministerial career:

"The day approaches, and is now before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labors and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served in the

spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace, and to fight against the proud and rebellious by the divine threatenings. I know that many have frequently complained, and do still loudly complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged, but still, I kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth, so boldly, and without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called and of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of the manner in which I have discharged the trust committed to me, when I shall stand at last before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandize of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talents entrusted to me for the edification of the church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time, my dear brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel: wait diligently on the flock over which the

Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed with the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my dearest brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you, and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail."

Beside his wife, Bannatyne, Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, and Johnston of Elphingston, and Dr. Preston, his intimate friends, watched in turn at his bedside. Campbell inquired if he were in pain. "It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall soon, I trust, put an end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you, to whom you must be husband in my room." Soon after, his vision began to fail, and he desired his wife to read the 15th chapter of first Corinthians. He listened devoutly to the message of God, and then exclaimed, "Is not that a comfortable chapter? O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord has afforded me from that chapter!" A few moments later he said, "Now for the last time I commend my soul, spirit and body, (touching three of his fingers,) into thy hand, O Lord!"

Lingering longer than he expected, he added to his wife, "Go read where I cast my first anchor;" meaning the 17th chapter of St. John. After a terrible spiritual conflict, he replied to the inquiry, if he heard the prayers offered in his behalf: "Would to God that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them; I praise God for that heavenly sound." About eleven o'clock at night, he sighed heavily, and said, "Now it is come!" He was speechless; but

when desired to give a sign of peace, he raised both hands, and expired as placidly as an infant falling asleep. He was nearly sixty-seven*; less worn with age than with conflicts and trials, whose field of battle and storm is the immortality within. He had bared his breast before the enemies of his beloved church and native land. The skeptical sneer of partial historians falls powerless on the death-scene of such a man. Gifted and heroic, sometimes bold to a fault, he was beloved by the pious burghers, respected by the nobility, and universally lamented by the Presbyterian church. He discovered before his death, the coming complete triumph of the Protestant faith, under the energetic Morton.

The Castle of Edinburgh, after an obstinate and brave resistance, fell into the hands of the besiegers, May 31st; and the last fortress of Mary's disheartened troops was a scathed and battered citadel, within whose walls were only suppliants for mercy. Notwithstanding much earnest interposition to save them, the Laird of Grange and his brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, were led to the scaffold at the Cross of Edinburgh, August 3d, 1573. They died loyal to Mary

* John Knox, the leader of Protestantism in Scotland, was born in Haddington in the year 1505—the month and day of his birth not being known—and died in Edinburgh November 24, 1572. Froude justly says that he was "perhaps in that extraordinary age its most extraordinary man, and his character became the mold in which the later fortunes of his country were cast." Again: "He was the one antagonist whom Mary could not soften nor Maitland deceive; he it was who raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people . . . men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny."

Stuart, and with the unshrinking courage of a sincere persuasion of past well-doing. With those strong adherents was lost hopelessly the cause of Mary Stuart in Scotland. She yielded to the fury of the tempest, and was the victim of extreme depression. Since St. Bartholomew's day, she had suffered the severities of close captivity; forbidden correspondence and the visits of friends. Now that her faction was annihilated, more liberty was permitted. And she turned her thoughts to an altered tone of pleading with Elizabeth. With submissive air, she sought to gain by direct means what she had attempted by force and stratagem. She wrote, at this period, the following letter:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madam, my good sister—I consider myself very unfortunate in having found, in my adversity, so many persons ready to injure me by all sorts of means, and wrongfully; for I have not, that I know of, ever done anything to deserve their displeasure. Yet, they are every day making some fresh report to you, in order to make you suspicious of, and angry with me, even at the moment when I am most anxious to avoid the least occasion of giving you offence. I state this, because, ever since you were pleased to send to me Mr. Wade, and other commissioners, who informed me of part of your anger against me, I have endeavored not to speak, to write, or even to think of anything that I could suppose likely to give you any cause whatever to be displeased with me.

"Thus, when I heard of the loss of my Castle of

Edinburgh, and other reverses, perceiving that people took pleasure in talking more about them than was necessary for comforting me, I flatly refused to converse upon that subject, not wishing to make my misfortunes a pastime to any one, and not being able to remedy them; and also expressly not to furnish occasion to any one to put a malicious construction on my words; and yet you daily heard some false report concerning me, as I perceive from the letters of De la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the King, my good brother. But if you would have the kindness to reserve an ear for me, before condemning me on the faith of those who, by such reports, strive to incense you against me, you would soon find that they have no other foundation for their statements than a malicious desire to injure me.

"You have been informed that I had attempted to bribe your subjects with my money; but if you will please to inquire, you will find it a mere supposition, and that, as I have already remarked, in writing to the said Sr. de la Mothe Fenelon, I have too many urgent calls upon the income I receive, to be able to bring more money hither than what is absolutely necessary to pay my servants, and provide for my wants. If it had been agreeable to you, you might have seen this from the account which I have kept of my moneys, of which I have reserved but a very small sum for the above purpose.

"For the rest, it appears unfortunate for my affairs that I have gained so many friends, seeing the ill turns that are done me on all sides; and, though it is asserted that I complain of being watched too closely, and that I am, nevertheless, continually gaining per-

sons to my side, I assure you, madam, that I neither see nor speak to any creature in the world, with the exception of those under whose charge you have placed me, and that with as much reserve as possible; for, as for any complaint or remonstrance that I have made to them, God knows that they have not obliged my by any remedy they have applied; and even when they have granted me anything, at the request of the said Sr. de la Mothe Fenelon, it has always been so thwarted that I have been no better for it. I do not say this to complain of any one, for I have learned to suffer, since it is your pleasure, and I shall never attribute to any but you the good or evil that befalls me in this country, having come and placed myself in your hands, as being my surest refuge, for the honor I have to be your nearest kinswoman and neighbor, and have no right to do otherwise than you command; and I should be very simple, having lived so long in trouble, if I did or said, in any house in England, what I wished not to be referred to you and to your council, were my affection other than it is toward you, seeing that I have access to none but those whom I know to be charged to watch me. I suffered too severely at Bourton—recollect, if you please, the charity that was done me there—not to be on my guard elsewhere, though I may not appear to be so.

"But to conclude, I feel my conscience so clear, that whatever reports may be made of my actions, provided people only adhere to the truth, I will give you no cause to be dissatisfied with me, and I therefore beseech you not to believe anything that may be told you to the contrary; for, I assure you, that I have

neither written nor said more than I have said to your commissioners, or written to yourself, and in proof of my innocence in something, if you should be pleased to adopt some good expedient, that with your favor I might go to France or Scotland, things being by you reëstablished for my honor and safety, you will find that I should feel myself greatly obliged to you, and I will gladly prepare to quit this country, that I may manifest elsewhere, when at liberty, my affection to you, which people strive to disguise from you, to deprive me of the opportunity of defending myself in your presence, in which the others have time and place to accuse me. Be this as it may, I beseech you in future to believe nothing concerning me, and not to credit or hearken to anything against me, but what you have sufficient proof of; for I desire nothing more than to do what is agreeable to you, if you will be pleased to grant me the means, and permit me to have access to you, that I may lay before you my grievances; for, till that moment, I shall experience nothing but crosses: and fearing that I have already fatigued you by this long letter, I will send the rest of my remonstrances to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, and present my humble recommendations to your good favor, praying God to grant you, madam, good health and a long and very happy life. From the Castle of Chffeild, the 20 February, 1574.

"Your very affectionate and good sister and cousin,

"Mary R."

Elizabeth, in return, allowed her to extend her walks into the park and gardens of Sheffield. The humid air of her prison had induced rheumatism in

her arms, and she was wasted with a liver-complaint, whose symptoms were aggravated by her incarceration. According to her request, she was therefore permitted to visit the baths of Buxton, not far from Sheffield; where she relinquished conspiracies and dangerous correspondence, for harmless amusements. She wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow two or three letters, which display her business forethought and new employments:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"May, 1574.

"Monsieur de Glascow—None of my subjects or servants has a greater dislike to enter into disputes than myself; yet I would do so both with the one and the other, when I love them and wish to make use of them, communicating my will and what I think it necessary for them to know, in order to dispose them to fulfill it voluntarily; on the other hand, as far as lies in my power, and I see that it is reasonable, I shall have great pleasure in gratifying them when they solicit emolument, honor, and advancement of me. As I perceive from your letters that you are mistaken in regard to my last, which you think too harsh, this makes me write to you in the style of a mistress, purposely that you may not doubt that all they contained was according to my command; for I never write letters that others dictate. They may, indeed, prepare them, but I look over and correct them if they convey not my meaning, before I sign them. You cannot harbor this doubt in the present

instance, for my secretary is so ill that I am obliged to write all my dispatches with my own hand; but I am of the same opinion as he who writes for you, whom you will command to write in milder terms another time, for I do not wish to be compelled to write to you otherwise than as befitting so faithful a subject, and a minister diligent and zealous in obeying the commands of a good mistress, and to remove all occasion for doubt or ignorance, or discontent, which I suspect some persons are striving to put into your head, knowing that I would not take the same trouble to satisfy them as for you, whose services are so valuable to me.

"I will tell you what both your brothers told me to write to you, and I assure you, without meaning to offend you—that you may believe this on the word of her whose testimony alone ought to be positive proof—I have still some of your letters which I received at Winkfield and other places, in which you informed me that M. the cardinal had placed the seals in your hands until I should appoint a chancellor, and that you would use such authority in the best manner you possibly could to my advantage, hoping that, whoever succeeded you, he would find his road already marked out. You, at the same time, recommended to me a brother-in-law, or some other relation of the treasurer's, and Duvergier. I appointed Duvergier on this condition; that he should reside in Paris, and come over here to receive my orders; for I should have been vexed had it been given to any one without my knowledge, as I formerly wrote to you. In short, you never expressed a wish to me to keep the seals for any time, or led me to suppose you would

feel gratified by having them given to you; and surely, during the two years which elapsed between my gift, or at least the promise by letter written with my own hand to Duvergier, and his entering into office, you had sufficient time to let me know if you wished for the appointment or not; for I assure you that I should have preferred you, had you frankly asked me for it; but naturally supposing that you would have expressed your wish to that effect, if you had formed any, I did, as I always told you it was my intention to do, appoint a chancellor, and I am sorry you should have so long deferred informing me of your dissatisfaction, for which there is no remedy.

"As to what you tell me that I am censured for it, inform me who and what, for it is your duty, and not to suffer anything to be said in your presence out of pique or caprice against me, and I will let them know what I think of it. They are not very discreet who wilfully intermeddle, and try to sow discord between an old experienced minister and his mistress, who ought to understand matters better than they do, clever as they conceive themselves to be. Tell them that, whenever I shall look after them, their bad conduct will be discovered; that you will be the first to expose it, and then each must answer for himself. As for yourself, you say that you have no fear of being made a slave, but are determined to follow my directions in everything, by which you shall not lose either profit, honor, or advancement; for you shall be preferred to every one whatsoever; and in future, whenever you have any desire for an appointment or other favor, be not afraid to let me know it, for neither you nor any other person shall ever have any-

thing in my gift but from myself, if I can help it; but, if you are presented with anything from another quarter, as I have so often solicited, I shall consider myself greatly obliged. As far as I can see, the appointment would only have annoyed you, for you would have gained nothing but ill-will, if you had said absolutely that you would follow my instructions as punctually as I wish; for people over there like to do only just what they please. If I could but speak to you, I would soon remove any unpleasant impression by explaining the cause of my dissatisfaction, which in no way concerns you; nor in my choice of chancellor has any person a right to find fault with me, or to accuse me of monopoly, as you say; but I hate those whom persons over there would wish to appoint, though no one was officious enough to propose or to persuade me otherwise than what I have already written to you, which I shall not repeat—and this is the truth.

"I have been informed that, as soon as the news was known that Duvergier had a passport to come to me, it was said in your lodging that Roullet had obtained it from him; wherein he was unjustly suspected, for the poor fellow never opened his mouth to speak to me concerning it, and would have been glad to make the journey himself, if possible, feeling himself already attacked by that disorder which has since reduced him to his present state. In short, it was my own act and deed; but as he is so odious to you, that you have refused to introduce him, as I requested, I will not urge you further. At all events, he will not fail to side with you as I have commanded him, and to take your advice whenever you choose to give it.

I never intended that he should be either your superior or equal in the council, where, in the absence of my uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, you, as my representative, hold the first place, and where you are invested with authority to see to it that my affairs are conducted according to my orders, which I am certain you will implicitly follow, by way of setting a good example, more especially as you are my natural subject. I beg, therefore, that henceforth I may not again see any expressions in your letters which savor of dispute and altercation, nor hear any more about the dissatisfaction and disgust which prevent you from fulfilling the duties that you are charged with, as my present situation requires. For the rest, if there are any who murmur at my orders, tell them that at the present moment, what I most desire in my affairs is, to know those who are disposed to obey me, that I may employ them, with the assured intention of rewarding them; and those who would fain manage my affairs according to their own fancy, that they must change their conduct, or I shall persuade myself that it is not so much for my interest as for their own, that they wish to serve me. I want to see if, because I am absent or in prison, my orders are to be slighted or not, and I am willing to listen to the opinions of each, in order to follow the best counsel, which God will give me grace to discern; but wherever I find any confederacy formed to counteract my intentions, I shall hold as suspicious all those who belong to it, and only employ such as pursue a different course.

"I have made a declaration of my intentions, in answer to the replies made me to the instructions and estimates which I gave to my chancellor. I send it

you for the purpose of showing and making it known, as herein expressed; this I beg you to do, and to conform to my wish, which, if I could communicate to you in any other way than openly, you would approve of it, and be convinced, as I before told you, that nothing was done with the intention of disparaging your faithful and agreeable services. I would most willingly have sought to procure permission for you to come over, had I not proof that it would be denied me, and were not all my requests viewed with more and more suspicion. I will, however, do all I can, and I beg you will do the same on your part. As for the money which you delivered to the English ambassador, take care and make him return it, and never again place any more in his hands, nor anything else, for they will not be answerable for anything. If my servants are urgent for their wages, I shall be reduced to great straits. I shall soon send a memorandum of those I wish to be paid, the same as they were entered in my estimate. Look to this, and take care that the assignations, which I sent by Duvergier, for wages and gifts to my servants here with me, be immediately dispatched by the treasurer before anything else; for until this be done, I will not either give to or recompense any other, excepting the person to whom the Bishop of Ross lent a hundred crowns. I am very sorry that they have not been better satisfied, and without my knowledge. If you d anything for them, I will most willingly allow for i rather than remain indebted to them as I am. I recommend also to you old Curle; he is an old and faithful servant, and his son is faithful and diligent in my service. I have assigned him some money, to

be employed in the way that he knows of. See to it that he is promptly paid; and, if opportunity offers of providing for any of his children, you will do me a great kindness by seeking the means. But that I may have an answer to this dispatch how my servants will be paid, I will send a list of those whom I wish to be paid first in France, among whom I shall not forget your servants, particularly the good old man Warkar, whom I have known for a very long time. My *écuyer de cuisine* [head cook]; notwithstanding all the orders I had given him, has not been able to get any money. I beg you, more especially as I have recommended, for my own safety, to be cautious in regard to my victuals, to let this be immediately settled; and tell Hoteman to receive his wages, and keep them for my sake; and speak to Cheminon, and inquire if there be any means of assisting him to recover part of his money, which was received but mismanaged, otherwise it will be necessary for him to go over himself, which he has already asked leave of me to do; and I assure you I should miss him very much. I am not out of danger if my food is not closely watched, and he is the only person here who has the care of it; besides, as I have no apothecary, he makes up all the medicines for me and my household; and I have not been very ill since last Lent, when I suffered a good deal from the cold and want of exercise.

"Roullet has sent me a letter from Monsieur de Flavigny, which I have read; but, as the said Roullet cannot answer him, I beg you to make my recommendations to him, and to assure him that if ever I have the luck to recover my liberty, I shall remind

him of his promise to be a courtier, at least in my company, where he will always be wished for and welcome, as his virtues and amiable disposition deserve. I recommend to you my two orphans, Annibal and William Douglas, as you would wish me to do for those in whom you are interested. I am writing for some articles which I want; order them to be forwarded to me as soon as possible, and money for my household. I am also writing to monsieur, my brother-in-law; to the Queens mesdames, my good mother and my sister; to Monsieur le Duc, and Monsieur de Montmorency; deliver my letters to them, and speak to them in behalf of Adam Gordon, to obtain for him the place of captain in the Scotch guards, M. de Losse being promoted to a higher situation. You are aware how highly this would gratify me. I beg you also to recommend to them Lord Walhton, and render him all the service you can. In short, I beg you to solicit, wherever you can, for the good treatment of all my faithful subjects and servants in France. If I had the means, I would not importune the King to aid them; but having none, I cannot have recourse to any but him, in virtue of the ancient alliance between our countries, and the honor I have of being his sister. I beg, also, that in all changes and new edicts, you will not be afraid to require that there be nothing prejudicial to my dowry, as in the case of those *tabellionages* [the business of a *tabellion*, or village notary], and solicit the aid and favor of M. the Cardinal of Bourbon, of Montpensier, and of M. de Montmorency, to whom I wish you to address yourself as familiarly as to one of my relations, wherever you shall need counsel and

favor, to aid you in remonstrating about my affairs in that quarter. I will pray God to give you, Monsieur de Glascow, health, and a long and happy life.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

"I beg you to send me some genuine *terra sigillata*,* if it is to be had for money; if not, ask M. the cardinal, my uncle, for some; or, if he has none, rather than have recourse to the Queen, my mother-in-law, or to the King, a bit of fine unicorn's horn, as I am in great want of it.†

"From what I have heard, you have misunderstood what I wrote to you, for I never said that your brothers had specially solicited me to take the seals from you, but that I would permit you to retire altogether, which I refused; and, talking of the seals, they always denied that it was a thing from which you derived much profit. Your brother writes to you as if he had been accused of having done you some ill turn. I assure you, and can testify, that he never thought such a thing; but he and your deceased brother expressed themselves to me in the terms above-mentioned; and about this you may satisfy yourself without letting La Landouse and such like, interfere in correcting the *Magnificat*. I will inform you particularly of every thing. What I here tell you is enough to satisfy you that I have done

* The *terra sigillata* was a seal made of pottery or earthenware. Mary evidently wanted this as an amulet or charm.

† The superstitious notions of those days attributed, we presume, extraordinary virtues to the imaginary as well as to the real substances for which the Queen writes in this postscript.

nothing to cause you displeasure; but I am not pleased with those lawsuits, carried on where every one must be a judge, and in the end I shall grow angry with them, which is what I have no wish to do. Duvergier had my letters before I had let you know that I had given him them; he will show them to you."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"June 9th, [1574.]

"Madam, my good sister—as you have been pleased to intimate to Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the King, monsieur my good brother, that you were gratified by the liberty which I took to present to you, through him, a trifling piece of my work, I cannot refrain from assuring you, by these lines, how happy I should esteem myself, if you would be pleased to permit me to make it my duty to recover by any means whatever, some portion of your good graces, in which I most earnestly wish you to be pleased to aid me by some intimation in what way you think I can gratify and obey you; whenever it is your pleasure, I shall always be ready to give you proofs of the honor and friendship I bear you. I was very glad that you were pleased to accept the sweetmeats which the said Sieur de la Mothe presented to you; I am now writing to Duvergier, my chancellor, to send me a better supply, which you will do me a favor in making use of; and would to God that you would accept my services in more important things, in which I should show such readiness to please, that, in a short time, you would have a better opinion of

me; in the meantime, I will wait patiently for some favorable news from you, which I have been expecting for such a long time. And that I may not be troublesome, I will communicate what I have further to say through Monsieur de la Mothe, being assured that you will not credit him less than myself; and having kissed your hands, I pray God to grant you, madam, my good sister, health, and a long and happy life. From Sheffield, this ixth of June.

"Your very affectionate sister and cousin,

"MARY R."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"From SHEFFIELD, the 9th of July, [1574.]

"Monsieur de Glascow—I have nothing particular to say at present, except that, thank God, I am in better health than I was before using the baths, and when I last wrote you. I beg you will procure for me some turtle doves, and some Barbary fowls. I wish to try if I can rear them in this country, as your brother told me that, when he was with you, he had raised some in a cage, as also some red partridges; and send me, by the person who brings them to London, instructions how to manage them. I shall take great pleasure in rearing them in cages, which I do all sorts of little birds I can meet with. This will be amusement for a prisoner, particularly since there are none in this country, as I wrote to you not long ago. Pray see to it, that my directions be complied with, and I will pray God to have you in his keeping.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"MARY R."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE SAME.

"From Sheffield, the 18th July, [1574.]

"Monsieur de Glascow—M. de la Mothe Fenelon, ambassador of the King, monsieur, my brother, having given me the mournful intelligence of the decease of the said prince,* whom God absolve, you may imagine the grief I felt for the loss of so good a brother and friend; and if I had sooner had the means, I should have commanded you to go to visit and condole, in my name, with the Queen-madam, my good mother, and with the Queens, my good sisters, which I am sure you have not failed to do, so well knowing my intentions; and having since heard lately, from the said M. de la Mothe Fenelon, that there are hopes at present, of the return of the King, monsieur, my good brother, to his kingdom, I would not omit writing this letter, which I shall desire him to send you, for the purpose of informing you of my intention, which is that, on his arrival, you go to meet and receive him, performing, in my name, such offices as are required of a good sister and ally, deliver the letters which I have written to him, and assuring him of the good will which you know I have always borne, both toward the late King and himself; and, if you have opportunity, recommend me and my affairs to him, and to the Queen, my good mother, also, to whom I am now writing, as also to the Queen, my good sister, and to MM., my uncles.

"As for my health, it is, thank God, rather better than before I went to the baths. I have written more particularly to the said Sieur de la Mothe, who, I am

* Charles IX., who died the 31st of May, 1574.

sure, will have apprized them of it. For the rest, I beg you to take care to get me an ample reply to my dispatch of the 8th of May, and that the memorials which I sent them, and since, be dispatched, and the substance sent to M. de la Mothe, to be forwarded to me. If it please the Queen of England, madam my good sister, to permit you, I should be glad if you would soon send some one to pay my household, and, at the same time, let me know, in reply, what you have to say about such of my affairs as remain to be settled, and to assist me in remodeling my estimates; for, as for Roullet, he has been twice on the point of death within the last fortnight, and it will be a long time before he can assist me again, if he should recover, of which I see no great likelihood, being decidedly consumptive, or I am much mistaken, for he has a continual wheezing, and is quite bent. Still, he says he is very well, and even within the last two days, told me he was sure he should get better. At any rate, it would be well if M. the cardinal, my uncle, would provide a person to take his place, his health being very precarious, and the least thing causes a relapse; and let me know his name, and as much as you can of his disposition; for it is necessary to have patient and peaceable persons among prisoners, who have not all the comforts they wish; and, above all, he must not be partial in his service, otherwise it would occasion me more trouble than ease, and have no need of that, having had enough of it already.

"If, in traveling to meet the King, or, for other expenses connected with this matter, you have need of some consideration, I should be glad if M., the cardinal, would allow something extra, only apprising me

of it. I shall approve of it, for I know you are frequently in need of aid, and have no desire that you should remain behindhand, any more than get on too fast. On the first opportunity, I will recommend you to the King, and renew my former request for you; meanwhile, be careful that all my affairs are conducted according to my orders.

"Should you be permitted to send me some one with my accounts, send me, by-and-by, Jean de Compeigne, and let him bring me patterns of dresses, and of cloth of gold and silver, and of silks, the handsomest and the rarest that are worn at court, in order to learn my pleasure about them. Order Poissy to make me a couple of head-dresses, with a crown of gold and silver, such as were formerly made for me; and Bretan to remember his promise, and to procure for me from Italy some new fashions of head-dresses, veils, and ribbons with gold and silver, and I will reimburse him for whatever these may cost him.

"You must not forget the birds, about which I lately wrote to you, and communicate the contents of this letter to messieurs, my uncles, and beg them to let me have a share of the new things which fall to them, as they do by my cousins; for, though I do not wear such myself, they will be put to a better purpose. And to conclude, I will pray God to grant you, M. de Glascow, a long and happy life.

"You must not fail to call, in my name, on M. and Madame de Lorraine, and apologize for my not writing to them at present, for want of leisure. I do not doubt that they will act towards me as a kind brother and sister, having been brought up with them from my youth, and being one of their house. Do

the same by my good sister, the Queen of Navarre, and remember me to all my relations and friends; but more especially to my uncle, Monsieur the Cardinal de Bourbon, and to my brother, the grand prior, to whom I have not time to write at present, so he never writes to me but for payment, and on behalf of his servants, at least, it is a long time since he did. Remember me, likewise, to M. and Madame de Vaudemont, and M. and Madame de Nemours, and De Nevers, and do not forget my cousin Du Maine, and his brother.

"Serves de Condé, an old and faithful servant, has complained to me of having been forgotten in the estimates for some years. I desire that he and his wife be placed at the head of the list; in the meantime, I have given him an order, which I beg you will see is paid him. Tell M. the Cardinal to furnish him with money to go to Scotland to take an inventory of the furniture which was in his keeping there, and to bring a certificate of what is wanting, who has it, and on what account he delivered it to them, and likewise testimonials from M. and Madame de Huthed, Lady Ledington, and Lord Seton, to whom he may deliver all that he can recover; and if I learn from you, on his return, that he has rendered a good account, and arranged matters well for the future, I will take such steps as, with your approbation, I may see fit, for keeping his son-in-law, or some other person there as may be found most convenient.

"Your very kind friend and mistress,

"Mary R.

"Remember me to the Bishop of Ross—I have nothing to write to him about at present."

When Mary learned that Elizabeth kindly accepted the gifts of her tasteful hand, she addressed her in a grateful mood:

"Madam, my good sister, since it has pleased you to receive so graciously from Monsieur de la Mothe the little things which I took the liberty to send you by him, I cannot refrain from expressing to you how happy I shall feel, when it pleases you to allow me to endeavor, by all means, to regain some part of your favor, to do which I greatly desire you to have the goodness to aid me, by informing me of the matters in which I can please and obey you."

She also wrote the French ambassador: "I feel the greatest satisfaction at the news you give me, that it has pleased the Queen, my good sister, to accept my tablets; for I desire nothing so much as to be able always to please her, in the least as well as in the most important affairs, and I do this in the hope of recovering her favor, in the first place, and then I do not doubt of her goodness in all the rest. I am desirous to make her a head-dress as soon as I can, but I have so few women to assist me in delicate needlework, that I have not been able to get it ready yet. If you think some articles of network would please her better than anything else, I will make them. Meanwhile, I beg you to get for me some gold lace ornamented with silver spangles, the best and most delicate that you can, and to send me six yards of it, and twenty yards of double lace, or else narrow good lace."

Mary was subdued, and pity was the highest homage awarded the abject Queen. The troubler of monarchs,—the beautiful conspirator, whose plots shook

kingdoms, has stooped to play the milliner to her imperious rival.

The correspondence with the Archbishop of Glasgow was filial and frank, when private. She wrote tenderly after the death of her secretary, Roullet:

"From Sheffield, the 4th of September, 1574.

"Monsieur de Glascow, it pleased God to take Roullet, my secretary, out of this wretched life into his glory, on the last day but one of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, and so suddenly, that when I sent to inquire after him, as was my custom every morning, he was breathing his last, so that he said nothing when dying, about what he had requested of me before. I have set down what he said, as nearly as I can recollect, in a letter to M. Ferrarius, and to Hoteman; which you will ask to see, and solicit them to accept the duty he has bequeathed them, and let me know whether they will fulfill it. He has left me the five thousand francs, which I lately made him a present of, saying that he had sufficient to fufill his last wishes. You must inquire respecting this, and, if you find it to be so, withdraw the said sum from Hoteman, or from the treasurer, because one or the other has received it for him, and which you can retain until you hear my further intentions. Make diligent inquiry for some one to serve me as secretary, and send him to me as early as possible; for I must not act any longer in this capacity, unless I wish to kill myself.

"I beg you to inform my treasurer that I am displeased, because my officers here, with the exception of one or two, are not paid according to the order I

gave him; and those whom he has paid, at least Du Cartel, my surgeon, tells me that he has reckoned the crown at sixty sous.* Inquire if that is the value of it, for, if he wrongs my servants to make a profit by them, I will not suffer it. He has had sufficient profit by holding their wages from them for so long a time after they were due, and in only paying those whom he pleased; though there was no need for it, because they compounded with him for one half, as Chateaudun was in the habit of doing with my officers. Dolu wrote to me that he had paid all; but I see to the contrary: he has no . . . . . for he confesses, himself, that he is in my debt. I beg you will show him that part of my letter which relates to him, or let him know that I am extremely displeased, as he shall find, if he does not endeavor to satisfy my poor servants who are about me, and those who are recommended to me. I beg you will see that nothing further be done contrary to my instructions. Roullet is dead; they can no longer suspect that it is he who puts this into my head; and, as for Duvergier, he never spoke to me about him; but I insist that he and all others obey me and follow my orders, let them displease whom they will; and, as I am in expectation of your general dispatch, I will not say more at present, but desire you to beg the cardinal, my uncle, not to permit any more money to be spent in the suit with Secondat; for I tell you plainly, that I will give it up, rather than lay out another farthing upon it, let my counsel think what

* If the English crown is here meant, it was worth $1.12. The sou was worth about one cent. Mary's suspicions seem justified in this matter.

they please, unless they make it appear that there is a better prospect than I see at present. As far as I can learn, the six thousand francs are to be followed by more; I set my face against it; show this to my said uncle, that he may forbid them to proceed further without his consent.

"I have received a letter from Saint Cheran, applying for the situation of his brother, who is in Champagne. Tell him that, having seen the dispatch, by-and-by, according as he behaves himself, if he treads in the steps of his brother, and relies on me only, I will willingly comply with his request, and take him into my service, for I insist that my officers, especially those who are here with me, depend entirely upon me, and no other person. If any should urge my chancellor to do any act without first consulting me, I beg you will take care that he refuses, until my intention be known, for that was the principal reason why I took him, and that he should depend on none but me. In so doing, I beg, as you love me, to support him, for I am resolved to be obeyed.

"For the rest, present my humble remembrances to the King, M. my good brother, and to the Queen, my good mother, and beg them to command that all privileges and things in my gift may be reserved for me, and not given away, as they have been for some years past, under the name of grants from the King. Remember me to Messrs., my uncles, to my cousins, and to all my kind relations and friends, and take care to send your dispatch by a trusty person, and furnished with a safe passport for what I want, as all the letters of Senlis were taken from him. After sin-

cerely recommending myself to your remembrance, I pray God to have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

"I beg you will desire my treasurer to pay the money as soon as possible to old Curle, for I fear that the assignment will be at a long date, and that he has great need of it for his poor motherless children. I recommend him to you. I have not leisure to reply to the requests of Walker, nor have I a creature to assist me; tell them they shall not be forgotten, nor yet the young lady who was to have come with Rallay, who, perhaps, some day may be in my service.

"Your very good mistress and friend,

"Mary R."

"Apprise M., the cardinal, that if any one speaks to him for the situation of *maître d'hôtel,* held by the late Esguilli, he must not promise it, for I intend to make alterations in my household, and to have this situation abolished, as I have, likewise, resolved to do in regard to many others, as they become vacant. I shall do the same with Roullet's pension, leaving only the wages of a secretary for another in his place, and I will not permit any persons to be placed over there on my list without my knowledge, or I shall strike them out.

"Do not forget my humble remembrances to Madame, my grandmother. Roullet has left letters which he wrote to you, without addressing them, to M. de Ross and to M. the cardinal, whom I ought to have mentioned first; I shall reserve them for better opportunity, as they are not important, being merely on the matter concerning which he conceived himself to be suspected over there. Remember me to M. de

Ross, to whom I have not leisure to write at present."

A few weeks after she expressed her interest in the trifles which beguiled her solitary hours, and commends a friend in France, to his regard:

"SHEFFIELD, the 13th November, [1574.]

"M. de Glascow—having received the sweetmeats by the hands of the bearer, the brother of my chancellor, Duvergier, I have thought it right to give you a line by him, merely to tell you that I am well, thank God, and waiting for my secretary, and if you do not make haste and send him, you will hear no more from me, for so much writing makes me ill. Till then, I shall not write to you about business; but do not forget, as you are so often at Lyons, to send my little dogs. For the rest, Madame de Briante has returned into France, where she is likely to have a great deal to do, especially with her brother-in-law, respecting her dowry. If she has need of my interest with him, or with any other, or with those of the law, I beg you to do all in your power to assist her and to request M. the cardinal, my uncle, to do what he can for her in all her affairs; and, if she needs letters of recommendation from him, or from any of my relatives or kindred, you must procure them for her in my name, with leave of my said uncle; so that, if she has occasion to solicit the settlement of her suits in Paris, he may, for my sake, accommodate her with apartments in some one of his houses, that may be most suitable. She is an excellent and virtuous lady, and an old servant of the late Queen, my mother, and of myself, and her daughter is daily ren-

dering me most agreeable service. But you are so well acquainted with her merits and virtues, that I shall not make this letter any longer, unless to pray God, after recommending myself to your good graces, to grant you, M. de Glascow, health and a long and happy life.

"Your very good friend and mistress,

"MARY R."

Henry III. ascended the throne of France, and the captive felt a rising hope in his reputed bravery and devotion to Popery. But he soon blasted the expectation, by his characterless, undecided reign. Death robbed her, at this time, of a faithful ally. Tidings that Cardinal Lorraine was no more, reached the disconsolate Queen. Not hearing immediately from the archbishop on the subject, she wrote him, complaining of neglect:

"From SHEFFIELD, 20th February, [1575.]

"Monsieur de Glascow—I am much astonished that, on so melancholy event, I have neither received information nor consolation from you. I cannot attribute this to anything but the extreme sorrow you feel for the loss I have sustained: yet God be praised, if he sends me afflictions, he has, thus far, given me grace to support them. Though I cannot, at the first moment, command my feelings, or prevent the tears that will flow, yet my long adversity has taught me to hope for consolation for all my afflictions in a better life. Alas! I am a prisoner, and God has bereft me of one of those persons whom I most loved; what shall I say more? He has bereft me, at one blow, of

my father and my uncle; I shall now follow whenever he pleases, with less regret; but yet, instead of comforting me, do not distress yourself too much on my account, lest I might be deprived of a good and faithful servant, which, I feel assured, I have in you."

Mary Stuart still looked, with faint anticipation of aid, to Philip II., and resumed correspondence respecting an invasion of England. Her failing health and perils drew forth the following singular and unnatural disposal of her son, quoted from a message to the Archbishop of Glasgow:

"In order not to contravene the glory, honor, and preservation of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman church, in which I wish to live and die, if the prince of Scotland, my son, shall be brought back to its creed in spite of the bad education he has received, to my great regret, in the heresy of Calvin, among my rebellious subjects, I leave him the sole and only heir of my kingdom of Scotland, and of the right which I justly claim to the crown of England and its dependent countries; but if, on the other hand, my said son continues to live in the said heresy, I yield and transfer and present all my rights in England and elsewhere . . . to the Catholic King, or any of his relations whom he may please, with the advice and consent of his Holiness; and I do this, not only because I perceive him to be now the only true supporter of the Catholic religion, but also out of gratitude for the many favors which I and my friends, recommended by me, have received from him in my

greatest necessity, and furthermore, out of respect to the rights which he may himself possess to the said kingdoms and countries. I beseech him, in return, to make alliance with the house of Lorraine, and, if possible, with that of Guise, in memory of the race from which I am sprung on my mother's side."

A part of Mary's correspondence during the years 1579–80, will afford a glance at her somewhat monotonous life:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"June 24, 1579.

"Mon's de Glascow—Owing to the absence of Nau, who set out a fortnight ago for Scotland, on a visit to my son,* and to my having been rather indisposed—many thanks to Du Val, whom I expected here to physic (*purger*) me for this whole summer—I could not give an earlier answer to your last letters. I shall therefore begin by requesting you to put the irons in the fire again, and try to find me another physician who is not a deceiver, and make Lusgeri do the same; and, meanwhile, give me your opinion of any who may offer themselves. I have ordered Duvergier, my chancellor, if he knows of any person,

* "About this time, Mary sent by Nau, her secretary, a letter to her son, together with some jewels of value, and a vest, embroidered with her own hand. But, as she gave him only the title of Prince of Scotland, the messenger was dismissed without being admitted into his presence."—ROBERTSON'S *Hist. of Scot.*, b. vi.

to send him to you, so that you may speak to him, and be able to give me your opinion. I fear he will find work cut out for him, as I begin to be unwell, and am suffering from what I have not had for a long time—a very bad, dry cough. I am glad that you have gone to the baths for the benefit of your health, but am sorry that you could not be present, according to my desire, at the rendering of the accounts of Dolu, my treasurer. I hope soon to be able to inform you, whom I intend to appoint in his place. As to the affair of Madam de Humières, you will do well to make inquiry about it, for I think it a sad thing that the fief should be so much diminished, since she herself wrote to me, at her leisure, respecting it. Touching the request of your secretary, I cannot, for several reasons, comply with it at present. I beg you, on your return, to give me a full account of the state of my affairs, and to look well after them; and, in return, I hope to be able, on the arrival of Nau, to inform you of that of your old mistress and your young master. So the latter be but satisfactory, the former cannot be otherwise. And, in this place, after heartily commending myself to you, I pray God to give you, M. de Glascow, a long and happy life.

"Your very good mistress and best friend,

"Mary R."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

"Buxton, August 10, 1579.

"Monsieur de Glascow—As the indisposition of Nau prevents me from giving you a detailed answer

to your preceding letters, I write in the meantime to inform you of my arrival at the baths, and of the benefit I have derived from them in relieving the inveterate pain in my side. As ill luck would have it, at Sheffield, those who were assisting me to mount my horse, let me fall backward on the steps of the door, from which I received so violent a blow on the spine of the back, that, for some days past, I have not been able to hold myself upright. I hope, however, with the good remedies which I have employed, to be quite well before I leave this place. We have not been wholly free from the epidemic disorder; but it has been much more violent among the people of the country than those of my household, not one of which is now, thank God, affected by it.

"Do not fail to send me all the things which I directed you, notwithstanding the danger that you tell me you apprehended on your side of the water, and which is not less here, and write to me on all occasions, according to the opportunity you have. Whereupon, I pray God to have you, M. de Glascow, in his holy keeping.

"Your very good mistress and best friend,

"MARY R."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO M. DE MAUVISSIERE.

"Monsieur de Mauvissière—Having purchased two beautiful rare nags for my cousin, Monsieur de Guise, it was my intention to have immediately sent them both in charge of the bearer, who is obliged to return to France with his wife, for the cure of a disorder with which she has been afflicted ever since last

winter. But one of the said horses having been ailing (*forbeu*) for the last seven or eight days, I thought it advisable not to miss this opportunity, nor the season, for sending the other, which I have given in charge to the groom, who has for some time past had it under his particular care, and I have given him strict orders to take it to your house; and you will oblige me to let it be led by one of your grooms, to my ambassador, in order that he may present it, in my name, to my said cousin, and to pay my expenses incurred. I think you will have no difficulty about his journey, with the passport which it will be necessary to obtain for the purpose, any more than for that of any of my said officers; I shall, therefore, not give you any more particular directions on the subject, praying God, Monsieur de Mauvissière, to have you in his holy and worthy care. Written at the manor of Sheffield, the iii. day of September, 1580.

"Your very obliging and best friend,

"Mary R."

Morton, Regent of Scotland, had for five years ruled wisely over the realm. Commerce prospered in the universal peace, and the transforming progress in every branch of national prosperity was the theme of eulogy with foreign ambassadors. The fruits of a Protestant reign were benign and happy. But the restless nobles demanded his resignation, and the investment of James VI., then thirteen years of age, with full authority. After great reverses of fortune within a short period, Morton was condemned to the scaffold, June 2d, 1581, on the charge of complicity in the murder of Darnley. He confessed his knowl-

edge of the conspiracy, but denied any connection with it, not daring, he affirmed, to reveal it, because the Queen approved the regicide. He died with unfaltering firmness and resignation. Mary heard with unfeigned satisfaction of the execution of an enemy, whose death was favorable to her aspirations.

Mary had refused to give James VI. the title of King, and when her messenger, Nau, presented himself with maternal gifts, the youthful prince denied him audience, because his mother had omitted the royal address.

A new scheme was proposed of *association* in the crown. The conditions were, the resignation of the sceptre to Mary, and her restoration of it again to her son. The management of the affair was committed to the Duke of Guise. It was another Catholic device, similar to that of 1570. Earl of Lennox, formerly —— Stuart, a Catholic favorite of James, held a commanding influence, and secretly used it to weaken the strength of the Presbyterian church. Preparatory to his ultimate plans, he reëstablished the Episcopal church for the benefit of the Protestant nobility. The English ambassador at Edinburgh disclosed to the nobles who were faithful to the Reformation, the negotiations in progress, and the danger to their religion and lives, if the project of association in the crown succeeded. The result was another formidable confederation to put down Lennox, defeat the designs of the Queen, and guard the Protestant faith. Lennox moved fearlessly forward; but intelligence reaching the confederates of his incautious haste, they resolved to strike a blow without delay. The King was enjoying the chase near Perth. The

Earl of Gourie invited him to his castle at Ruthven, when suddenly it was environed with a thousand men. The captive wept and expostulated in vain; he was carried to the fortress of Stirling Castle. Lennox, after attempting to intrench himself at Edinburgh, retired into France, where he soon died.

This disastrous experiment of Mary's friends, once more plunged her into the abyss of helplessness and despair; while Elizabeth was elated with the triumphs of her unshaken authority. In the extremity of her condition, she wrote a long and deeply interesting letter:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

"Madam—Upon that which has come to my knowledge of the last conspiracies executed in Scotland against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequences of it, from the example of myself, I must employ the very small remainder of my life and strength before my death, to discharge my heart to

* Blackwood, whose history of the sufferings of Mary was published so early as 1587, says: "The Queen at the reported seizure of her son by Lord Gowry, having received an intimation of her son's captivity, fell so sick that she thought she should die, as the English physicians reported she would to their mistress, who wanted nothing better, having the son already in his power, or, which was the same, in the hands of the people who were devoted to her; with which the poor mother, being greatly agitated in her mind, after she had addressed her prayers to God, put her hand to the pen, thinking to obtain favor from, and to soften the heart of, her cousin by this address." The French original of this "celebrated letter," as Chalmers calls it, is in the British Museum, Cotton lib. Calig. c. vii. 51.

you fully of my just and melancholy complaints; of which I desire that this letter may serve you as long as you live after me, for a perpetual testimony and engraving upon your conscience, as much for my discharge to posterity, as to the shame and confusion of all those who, under your approbation, have so cruelly and unworthily treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity in which I am. But as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances and sincere deportment; and as the power which you have in your hands has always been a reason for you among mankind; I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us equally and immediately under him, for the government of his people.

"I will invoke him, till the end of this, my very pressing affliction, that he will return to you and to me (as he will do in his last judgment,) the share of our merits and demerits one toward the other. And remember, madam, that to him we shall not be able to disguise anything by the point and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

"In his name, and before him sitting between you and me, I will remind you that, by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name to Scotland while I was there, my subjects were encouraged to rebel against me, to make attempts upon my person, and, in a word, to speak, do, enterprise, and execute that which has come to the said country during my

troubles; of which I will not, at present, specify other proof than that which I have gained of it by the confession of one who was afterward among those that were most advanced for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom, if I had since done justice, he had not afterward, by his ancient intelligences, renewed the same practices against my son, and had not procured for all my traitorous and rebellious subjects who took refuge with you, that aid and support which they have had, even since my detention on this side; without which support I think the said traitors could not since have prevailed, nor afterward have stood out so long as they have done.

"During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throckmorton] counseled me on your behalf to sign that demission which he advertised me would be presented to me, assuring me that it would not be valid. And there was not afterward a place in Christendom, where it was held for valid or maintained, except on this side, [where it was maintained] even to having assisted with open force, the authors of it. In your conscience, madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty and power in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been by my subjects transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.

"And since I was willing to assure it lawfully to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or three traitors; who, having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him as they have from me, both the name and the title of it,

if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

"When I was escaped from Lochleven, ready to give battle to my rebels, I remitted to you, by a gentleman express, a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received as a token from you, and with assurance to be succored against my rebels, and even that, on my retiring toward you, you would come to the very frontiers in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me by divers messengers.

"This promise, coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth, (though I had found myself often deceived by your ministers,) made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it, that, when my army was routed, I had come directly to throw myself into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But, while I was planning to set out, there was I arrested on my way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity in which I remain to this day, after a thousand deaths, which I have already suffered from it.

"I know that you will allege to me what passed between the late Duke [of] Norfolk and me. I maintain that there was nothing in this to your prejudice or against the public good of this realm, and that the treaty was sanctioned with the advice and signatures of the first persons who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you. How could such personages have undertaken the enterprise of making you consent to a point which should deprive you of life, of honor, and your crown, as you have shown yourself persuaded it would

have done to all the ambassadors and others, who speak to you concerning me.

"In the meantime, my rebels perceiving that their headlong course was carrying them much further than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies that had been propagated of me at the conference to which I submitted, in full assembly of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party in that country, in order to clear myself publicly of them; there were the principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces in the Castle of Edinburgh, and one of the first among them poisoned,* and the other most cruelly hanged;† after I had twice made them lay down their arms at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows whether my enemies aimed at.

"I have been for a long time trying whether patience could soften the rigor and ill-treatment which they have begun for these ten years peculiarly to make me suffer. And, accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me for my captivity in this house, as well in regard to the number and quality of the attendants which I retain, dismissing the others, as for my diet and ordinary exercises for my health, I am living at present as quietly and peaceably as one much inferior to myself, and more obliged than with such treatment I was to you, had been able to do; even to the abstaining, in order to take from you all shadow of suspicion and diffidence, from requiring to have some intelligence with my son and my country, which is what by no right or reason could

* Secretary Maitland. † The Laird of Grange.

be denied me, and particularly with my child; whom, instead of this, they endeavored by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division.

"I was permitted, you will say, to send one to visit him there about three years ago. His captivity then at Stirling under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it, as his liberty was afterward of the refusal to make a like visit. All this year past I have several times entered into divers overtures for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. About ten years ago, commissioners were sent to me at Chatsworth for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself, by my ambassadors and those of France. I even myself made last winter all the advantageous overtures concerning it to Beal, that it was possible to make. What return have I had from them? My good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has been neglected and calumniated, the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy treatment from day to day, in spite of anything which I am obliged to do to deserve the country, and my very long, useless, and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low, that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, now think they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as a slave, whose life and whose death depend only upon their tyranny.

"I cannot, madam, endure it any longer; and I must in dying discover the authors of my death, or

living, attempt, under your protection, to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all the differences between us, banish from your mind, if you please, all that has been reported to you concerning my actions; review the depositions of the foreigners taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits last executed be submitted to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to accuse me publicly, and permit me to enter upon my defence; if any evil be found in me, let me suffer for it; it shall be patiently, when I know the occasion of it; if any good, allow me not to be worse treated for it, with your very high commission before God and man.

"The vilest criminals that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification; and their accusers and their accusations are always declared to them. Why, then, shall not the same order have place toward me, a sovereign Queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think that this last circumstance has hitherto been on the side of my enemies, the principal cause of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretensions slide between the two, and keep us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you, upon mine honor, that I look this day for no kingdom but that of my God, whom I see preparing me for the better conclusion of all my afflictions and adversities.

"This will be to you [a monition] to discharge

your conscience toward my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and, in the meantime, not to let prevail to his prejudice, the continual practices and secret conspiracies which our enemies in this kingdom are making daily for the advancement of their said pretensions; laboring, on the other side, with our traitorous subjects in Scotland, by all the means which they can to hasten his ruin; of which I desire no better verification than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practiced there, as I believe, without your knowledge, but with good and sufficient solicitation of the earl, my good neighbor at York.*

"And on this point, madam, by what right can it be maintained that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited not only from assisting him in the so urgent necessity in which he is, but also from having any intelligence of his state? Who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if, when sending to him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Cheresbury [Shrewsbury] gave me lately to understand that you did, you had been pleased to take my advice in the matter, you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider what you leave me to think, when, forgetting so suddenly the offence which you pretended to have taken against my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him, you have dispatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me

* The Earl of Huntingdon, then Lord President, at York.

advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

"And if the intention of those who have procured on your part this so prompt visit to my son had been for his preservation and the repose of the country, they needed not to have been so careful to conceal it from me, as a matter in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good will which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly on the point, I pray you not to employ there any more such means or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary, Lord Hundson] too sensible of the rank from which he is sprung, to engage his honor in a villainous act, yet he has had for an assistant a sworn partizan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented, then, if you will only not permit my son to receive any injury from his country (which is all that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders, to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton,) nor any of your subjects to intermeddle any more, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of Scotland, unless with my knowledge, to whom all cognizance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the most Christian King, my good brother, whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the whole of this cause, notwithstanding the little influence that he can have with the traitors who detain my son at present.

"In the meantime, I declare in all frankness to

you, that I hold this last conspiracy and innovation as pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that, while he shall be in the state which I understand he is, I shall consider no message, writing, or other act that comes from him, or is passed in his name, as proceeding from his free and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who are making him serve as a mask for them, at the risk of his life.

"But, madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee will in some sort displease you, though it is but the truth itself, you will think it still more strange, I am sure, that I importune you again with a request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant. This is, that, not having been able hitherto by accommodating myself patiently for so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, and, carrying myself sincerely in all things, yea, even such as could concern you ever so little, in order to give some assurance of my entire affection for you, all my hope being taken away of being better treated for the very short period of my life that remains to me, I supplicate you for the sake of the painful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm, into some place of repose, to seek some comfort for my poor body, worn out as it is with continual sorrows, that, with liberty of conscience, I may prepare my soul for God, who is daily calling for it.

"Believe, madam, and the physicians whom you sent this last summer are able sufficiently to judge the same, that I am not for a long continuance, so as

to give you any foundation for jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, require of me whatever just and reasonable assurances and conditions you think fit. The greatest power rests always on your side, to make me keep them; though on no account whatsoever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I showed you on this very point about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote to you; and if you will never be able to bind my heart to you so much as by kindness, though you keep my poor body languishing forever between four walls; those of my rank and nature not suffering themselves to be gained or forced by any rigor.

"Your imprisonment, without any right or just ground, has already destroyed my body, of which you will shortly see the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time to glut their cruelty on me; nothing is left of me but the soul, which all your power cannot make captive. Give it, then, room to aspire a little more freely after its salvation, which is all that it now seeks, rather than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me that it cannot be any great satisfaction, honor, and advantage to you, for my enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me in your presence. Whereas, if, in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me strongly to you, and bind all those who belong to me, particularly my poor child, whom you will, perhaps, make sure to yourself by it.

"I will not cease to importune you with this re-

quest, till it is granted. And on this account I beg you to let me know your intention; having, in order to comply with you, delayed for two years till this time to renew my application for it. In the meantime, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment in this country, that I may not suffer any longer, and commit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but only your own self, from whom alone, (as I wrote to you lately,) I wish for the future to derive all the good and the evil which I shall experience in your dominions. Do me this favor, to let me, or the ambassador of France for me, have your intention in writing. For, to confine me to what the Earl of Scherusbury [Shrewsbury] or others shall say or write about it on your behalf, I have too much experience to be able to put any assurance in it; the least point which they shall capriciously fancy being sufficient to make a total change from one day to another.

"Besides this, the last time I wrote to those of your council, you gave me to understand that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone; therefore, to extend their authority and credit only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, contrary to your intentions, I have been treated with much indignity. This gives me every reason to suspect that some of my enemies in your said council may have procured it with a design to keep others of the said council from being made privy to my just complaints, lest the others should perhaps see their companions adhere to their wicked attempts upon my life, which, if they should have any knowledge of them, they

would oppose, for the sake of your honor and of their duty towards you.

"Two things I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to leaving this world, I may have with me for my consolation some honest churchman, to remind me daily of the course which I have to finish, and to teach me how to complete it conformably with my religion, in which I am firmly resolved to live and die.

"This is a last duty, which cannot be denied the meanest and most abject person that lives: it is a liberty which you grant to all the foreign ambassadors, and which all Catholic Kings give to your ambassadors—the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not heretofore forced my own subjects to anything contrary to their religion, though I had all power and authority over them. And that I should be deprived in this extremity of such freedom, you cannot in justice require. What advantage will accrue to you if you deny it me? I hope that God will forgive me, if, oppressed by you in this manner, I render him no other duty than what I shall be allowed to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other princes of Christendom, to act towards their subjects with the same rigor that you will show to me, a sovereign Queen, and your nearest relation, which I am, and shall be, as long as I live, in spite of my enemies.

"I would not now trouble you with the increase of my household; about which, for the short time I have to live, I need not care much. I require then from you only two bedchamber women to attend me during my illness; attesting to you before God, that they

are very necessary to me, now that I am a forlorn creature among these simple people. Grant these to me, for God's sake; and show, in this instance, that my enemies have not so much credit with you against me as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty in a point of so little importance, and involving a mere office of humanity.

"I will now come to that with which the Earl of Shrewsbury has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me, which is this: that, contrary to my promise made to Beal, and without your knowledge, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland, when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I believe, the very words of the said earl.

"I will tell you, madam, that Beal never had an absolute and unconditional promise from me, but, indeed, conditional overtures, by which I cannot be bound, in the state in which the business is, unless the stipulations which I annexed to it are previously executed; and so far is he from having satisfied me about this, that, on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, nor heard mention of it since, on his part. And on this point, I well remember, that the Earl of Shrewsbury, about Easter last, wishing to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beal, I replied to him very fully, that it was only in case the said conditions should be granted, and consequently fulfilled toward me. Both are living to testify this, if they will tell the truth about it. Then, seeing that no answer was made to

me, but on the contrary, that by delays and neglects my enemies continued more licentiously than ever their practices carried on ever since the sojourn of the said Beal with me, in order to thwart my just pretensions in Scotland, so that the effects have been well witnessed there; by these means a door was left open for the ruin of myself and son; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself, by express letters, as well to you as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beal.

"I make you fully privy to what monsieur, the King, and madame, the Queen, had written to me with their own hands, on this business, and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, and on which it was in truth my intention to proceed, if you had given it me in time, and you had permitted me to send to my son, assisting me in the overtures which I had proposed to you, in order to establish between the two realms a good amity and perfect intelligence for the future. But to bind myself nakedly to follow your advice before I knew what it would be, and, for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even to my own country, I was never yet so simple as to think of it.

"Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game which my enemies in this country have played me in Scotland, to reduce things to the point at which they stand, which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity. God judge between them and me, and avert from this island the just punishment of their demerits!

"Take no heed of the intelligence which my traitorous subjects in Scotland have given you. You will

find, and I will maintain it before all the princes in Christendom, that nothing whatever has passed there on my side to your prejudice, or against the welfare and tranquillity of the realm, which I affect not less than any counselor or subject that you have, being more interested in it than any of them.

"There was a negotiation for gratifying my son with the title and name of King, and for insuring as well the said title to him as impunity to the rebels for their past offences, and for replacing everything in repose and tranquillity for the future, without innovation of any kind whatever. Was this taking away the crown from my son? My enemies, I believe, had no wish whatever that the crown should be secured to him, and are therefore glad that he should keep it by the unlawful violence of traitors, enemies from times of old to all our family. Was this then seeking for justice upon the past offences of the said traitors, which my clemency has always surpassed?

"But an evil conscience can never be assured, carrying its fear continually in its very great trouble within itself. Was it wishing to disturb the repose of the country to grant a mild pardon of everything past, and to effect a general reconciliation between all our subjects? This is the point which our enemies in this country are afraid of, much as they pretend to desire it. What prejudice would be done to you by this? Mark then, and verify, if you please, by what other point. I will answer it on my honor.

"Ah! will you, madam, suffer yourself to be so blind to the artifices of my enemies, as to establish their unjust pretensions to this crown, after you are gone; nay, perhaps, against yourself? Will you suf-

fer them in your lifetime, and look on, while they are ruining and cruelly destroying those so nearly connected with you, both in heart and in blood? What advantage and honor can you hope for in allowing them to keep us, my son and me, so long separated, and him and me from you?

"Redeem the old pledges of your good-nature; bind your relations to yourself; let me have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing all matters happily settled between us; that my soul, when released from this body, may not be constrained to make its lamentations to God for the wrongs which you have suffered to be done it here below; but rather that, being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity, to go to Him, whom I pray to inspire you favorably upon my very just, and more than reasonable complaints and grievances. At Sheffield, this 8th of November, one thousand, five hundred, eighty-two.

"Your very disconsolate nearest kinswoman,
and affectionate cousin,

"MARY R."

The Queen of England was far from yielding to the captive's pleading. Recent events had decided her to keep Mary in secure confinement, where, as hitherto, failure should be the issue of all plots, against her own majesty, and in behalf of her rival. In poor Scotland, revolutions swept over the land, like the waves of a tempestuous deep. James VI. was young and weak, both in council and action. He entertained no ardent affection for his mother, consequently had not imbibed her ambitious hostility to

Elizabeth. He was the creature of popular commotion, and capricious attachments to political favorites. Meanwhile, Philip II. and the Duke of Guise determined to invade England, with a bold and decisive campaign. June 27th, 1583, James, by the assistance of Earl Huntley and others, regained his freedom, and was prepared for the adventure.

The Duke of Guise sent Charles Paget, under the assumed name of Mapo, who was one of the managers of Mary's dowry in France, to the English Catholics with this message:

"Assure them, upon the faith and honor of Hercules (the Duke of Guise,) that the enterprise has no other object than the establishment of the Catholic religion in England, and the peaceable restitution of the crown of England to the Queen of Scotland, to whom that crown of right belongs. As soon as this is done, all foreigners shall leave the kingdom, and if any refuse to do so, Hercules promises to join his forces to those of the inhabitants of the country, in order to drive them out."

The grand expedition was doomed to inglorious close, like every movement which had been made for the imprisoned Queen. Elizabeth's counsellors discovered the scheme, and the result was a fiercer crusade upon Catholicism, and greater vigilance over Mary Stuart. The English Parliament convened, and aroused by the late designs upon Elizabeth and the realm, passed a bill, depriving Mary Stuart and all her descendants of the right of succession, if the sovereign of England met a violent death, and authorizing the pursuit and execution of any person found privy to the conspiracy, before a jury of twenty-four

commissioners. Parliament also enacted, "the penalties of high treason against the English Catholic priest, ordained by the Bishop of Rome, who was found in the realm after the expiration of forty days; attainted with felony all persons who should receive or assist him; punished with fine and imprisonment, at the Queen's pleasure, all who knew of his being in the kingdom, and did not denounce him within twelve days; ordered that all students in Catholic seminaries abroad, who did not return to England within six months after proclamation to that effect, should be punished as traitors; that parents sending their children abroad without license, should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that children so sent to seminaries, should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents."

Mary discerned in these statutes the shadows of her hastening fate. She was removed, August 25th, 1584, from Sheffield to Wingfield Castle. She signed a declaration in sentiment the same as that of the combination to protect the rights of Elizabeth. January 5th, 1585, she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, that she desired to secure peace for the Queen of England, power for James VI., and freedom for herself.

She finally submitted with great reluctance to the will of Sir Ralph Sadler, and his son-in-law, Somers, her new keepers, and was transferred from Wingfield to the cold and gloomy apartments of Tutbury Castle. A letter to Mauvissière and Chasteauneuf, jointly gives minutely a narrative of her cheerless captivity:

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO M. DE MAUVISSIERE AND M. DE CHASTEAUNEUF.

"Gentlemen, foreseeing that your answer to my last will be some time before it reaches me, I have thought it best, without waiting for it, to impart to you my just complaints concerning what Sir Amyas has been directed to signify to me, touching the memorial which I have sent you, which amounts, in fact, to an absolute refusal of the principal request contained in it, namely, those relating to the change and conveniences of dwelling, intelligence concerning the affairs of my dowry by the Sieur de Cherelles, and the increase of the number of my servants—things, though trifling and of no importance to the Queen of England, madam my good sister, yet so necessary for the preservation of my life and health, so mainly contributing to the few comforts that are left to me in this world, and to my consolation between these four walls (where I perceive more clearly from day to day that they are determined to reduce me to the last extremity) that, but for the very urgent need I have of them, I should not have stooped to beg for them with such earnest and persevering supplications, that I think I could not have bought them at a dearer rate; regretting exceedingly that, for all the duty I have imposed upon myself to please the said Queen in every thing and in every place, so little consideration and respect is paid to my honor and content in the matter of my state and treatment here.

"To give you, then, ocular proof of the situation in which I find myself in regard to the dwelling in the first place, and that you may remonstrate in my

behalf on the subject with the said Queen, (who, I presume, has never been accurately informed about it,) I will tell you that I am in a walled enclosure, on the top of a hill, exposed to all the winds and the inclemencies of heaven; within the said enclosure, resembling that of the wood of Vincennes, there is a very old hunting-lodge, built of timber and plaster, cracked in all parts, the plaster adhering nowhere to the woodwork, and broken in numberless places; the said lodge distant three fathoms or thereabouts from the wall, and situated so low, that the rampart of earth which is behind the wall is on a level with the highest point of the building, so that the sun can never shine upon it on that side, nor any fresh air come to it; for which reason it is so damp, that you cannot put any piece of furniture in that part without its being in four days completely covered with mould. I leave you to think how this must act upon the human body; and, in short, the greater part of it is rather a dungeon for base and abject criminals, than a habitation fit for a person of my quality, or even of a much lower. I am sure that there is not a nobleman in this kingdom, nor even one of those who, being inferior to noblemen, wish to reduce me beneath themselves, who would not deem it a tyrannical punishment to be obliged to live for a year in so straightened and inconvenient a habitation, as they want to force and constrain me to do; and the only apartments that I have for my own person, consist—and for the truth of this, I can appeal to all those who have been here—of two little, miserable rooms, so excessively cold, especially at night, that but for the ramparts and entrenchments of curtains of tapestry

which I have made here, it would not be possible for me to stay in them in the day-time; and out of those who have sat up with me at night during my illness, scarcely one has escaped without fluxion, or cold, or some disorder. Sir Amyas can bear witness that he has seen three of my women ill at once from this cause alone; and my physician himself, who has had his share of it, has several times positively declared that he will not take charge of my health during the next winter, if I am to remain in this house. As for replastering or in any way repairing or enlarging it, you may conceive how wholesome it would be for me to live in such new pieces of patchwork, when I cannot endure the least breath of damp air in the world; and on this account it is of no use whatever to offer me to make any repairs or any new conveniences against the winter. As for the house to which it is proposed that I should remove during the said repairs, it is a building attached, as it were, to this; and my keeper can testify that it is not in his power to lodge the few servants I have; and, without them, I have too many reasons to be afraid of living thus apart, wherefore, at this time, I will say no more. If I must proceed to inconveniences, I have not, as I heretofore informed you, any gallery or cabinet, to retire to occasionally alone, excepting two paltry holes, with windows facing the dark, surrounding wall, and the largest of them not above a fathom and a half square. For taking the air abroad, on foot, or in my chaise, (there being no vacant spot on the top of the hill,) I have only about a quarter of an acre of ground, contiguous to the stables, which Sommer had dug up last winter, and enclosed with a fence of dry wood; a

place, to look at, fitter to keep pigs in, than to bear the name of garden; there is not a sheep-pen amid the fields but makes a better appearance.

"As for taking exercise on horseback, during the whole winter, as I experienced, sometimes snow, sometimes rain, break up the roads in such a manner, that there is no house containing so many people of the lower sort as this does, which can be kept clean long, whatever pains may be taken with it. Then, again, this house, having no drains to the privies, is subject to a continual stench; and every Saturday they are obliged to empty them and the one beneath my windows, from which I receive a perfume not the most agreeable. And if, to the above, I may be permitted the opinion which I have conceived of this house, a thing to be considered in the case of persons inferior in station to me when in ill health, I will say, that as this house has been my first prison and place of confinement in this kingdom, where, from the first, I have been treated with a great harshness, rudeness, and indignity, so have I always held it since to be unlucky and unfortunate, as last winter, before coming hither, I caused to be represented to the said Queen of England; and in this sinister opinion I have been not a little confirmed by the accident of the priest, who, after having been grievously tormented, was found hanging from the wall opposite to my windows,* about which I wrote to you, Monsieur de Mau-

* The Catholic priest here mentioned had been persecuted on account of his religion; and, to escape further hardships, he hung himself in the manner described by Mary, who, on the occasion, addressed to Elizabeth an eloquent letter on the duty of permitting toleration, which is to be found in Labourer's work.

vissière; and then, four or five days afterward, another poor man was found who had tumbled into the well; but this I did not mean to compare with the other. Then I have lost my good Rallay, who was one of the chief consolations of my captivity; another of my servants is since dead, and several more have been sorely troubled with illness.

"So I cannot have any convenience or enjoyment here; and, but for the express assurances which the said Queen, my good sister, gave me, of honorable treatment, and which caused me to wait for it with patience till now, I never would have set foot in this place; sooner should they have dragged me to it by force, as I now protest that nothing but the force of constraint makes me stay here, and that, in case my life should be cut short by illness, from this time, I impute it to the deficiency of my dwelling, and to those who are determined to keep me there, with the intention, it would seem, to make me wholly despair for the future of the good will of the said Queen, my good sister, in matters of importance; since, in such reasonable, ordinary wants, I am so ill-used and promises made to me are not kept. To allege that the season of the year is already too far advanced, and the time too short to provide a new habitation for me, as if I had not long ago made remonstrances on the subject, is to forget that, at the time my secretary was there, he spoke about it very urgently to the Queen, my good sister, and left a memorial, at his departure, for Mr. Walsyngham. Since then, the point has been urged anew by Sommer, as well as by a message from my own lips, as by a memorial which was given to him, whereupon, I am told that the memorial

was delivered to you, Mr. de Mauvissière, and that the fault lies in your not having followed it up; nevertheless, I have written to you several times, and myself solicited Sir Amyas about it, so that no trouble has been spared on that head.

"As to the inconveniences of removal at this season, and for the provisions requisite to be made, they did not stand last year upon such ceremony, when they obliged me to leave Sheffield for Winkfield, and Winkfield for this place, in the depth of winter, when I was scarcely able to turn in bed, which I had kept for nearly three months before. This house, which had not been inhabited for the space of fifteen or sixteen years, was, at that time, prepared in less than five weeks, and, such as it was, they lost no time in bringing me to it, no matter whether with or without my consent. However, I affectionately beg you both to insist more urgently and perseveringly than ever, in the name of the King, monsieur my good brother, and on my own behalf, on my removal from this house and the conveniences which, from the foregoing, you may judge necessary in the new one that shall be appointed for me; and do not be put off, if you please, with excuses, evasions, or fair words that may be given you, if they are not to the effect that is capable of satisfying and contenting me in this matter. Insist, also, by all means, I beg you, on permission for the Sieur de Cherelles to come to me, reminding the said Queen, my good sister, how she was pleased, till last winter, to allow me to have some one over every year to give me an account of my affairs, as it is very requisite, and more than reasonable, especially considering the state in which they are at present,

from the attacks that are daily made upon my rights, and the hindrances and annoyances that are given me in the enjoyment of the little which is left me of my dowry, one-third of which, and more, has already been wrested from me by piecemeal; and it is not in my power to apply a remedy, and set things to rights, unless I can be minutely informed of the particulars by some trusty person, who, it is well known, would not attempt to write to me by letters which must pass through so many hands, neither would I thus openly inform them of my intentions. There is no criminal or prisoner, however mean, who is not permitted to receive accounts of his private affairs, and to manage them as he pleases, prisons having never been designed for the punishment of malefactors, but only for safe custody; and it seems, on the contrary, that, as for me, born a sovereign Queen, who sought refuge in this kingdom upon the assurance and promise of friendship, they wish to make this imprisonment drive me from affliction to the very last extremity, as if it were not sufficient that, after seventeen of the best years of my life spent in such misery, I have lost the use of my limbs, and the strength and health of the rest of my body, and that various attacks have been made upon my honor, but they must persecute me in the bargain, and abridge me as much as possible of the property and conveniences yet left me in the world. Learn, then, if you please, gentlemen, if the Queen, my good sister, intends to treat me in future like a condemned criminal, and to keep me in perpetual imprisonment, as it would appear from the severity with which I am used, without getting rid of me altogether by giving me my liberty, (from

which, agreeably to the conditions which I offered, she would derive more advantage than she ever will from my detention or death,) or, on the other hand, affording me occasion to accommodate myself to her satisfaction in captivity. My requests are not made for pleasure, but from necessity, not against her safety, but for her honor, and such, I may say, as I have more than justly merited. What encouragement to do better can it be to me to see myself, after the entire voluntary submission to which I made up my mind, more harshly and rigorously treated than ever, and with more demonstration, in appearance and reality, of ill will, suspicion, and mistrust.

"I had more servants, when I was with the Earl of Shereusbury than I have now, when I have more need of them, especially in my chamber, on account of the aggravation of my bodily ailments. Reckon up those whom I have discharged, or who have died without my having, as yet, any others in their place, and that family of my embroiderer who is about to leave me; the number of those whom I require will not be much greater, nor superior in quality, excepting the Countess of Athol, for whom, also, I applied as a favor, because I had about me here, in this solitude, as I represented, no companion worthy of my rank and my age, which would be highly proper and suitable. Seton and my good Rallay formerly supplied the want of better, and I cannot imagine any sufficient reason for denying me the said countess in their stead, unless they are fearful that she may give me some consolation, by bringing me tidings of my son; whether in this there be any respect for humanity, I leave all those to consider, who have really felt

parental love for their children, which is the more fervent in me, because my separation from my son is accompanied by so rigid a prohibition of all communication between him and me, that I am debarred even from hearing about his state and health. I will not hereupon call to mind that the said Queen promised me, last winter, that if the answer of my son to the letter which I was writing to him, did not satisfy and content me, I should have permission to send to him again, and to learn more precisely his intentions relative to those matters which have been in doubt between him and me. Nevertheless, this has hitherto been peremptorily refused and denied me, without consideration that such conduct tends to confirm the intimation given me formerly by the said Gray, that in this quarter people were only striving to produce division and a total separation between my son and me. With respect to the other servants whom I have applied for, such as Fontenay, and Thomas Levingston, I cannot discover any ground for the refusal made me, unless it be that, as formerly, the said Gray, at the time of his journey to this country, and the Countess of Shereusbury assured me, the right way to cause anything whatever to be denied me, was to signify that it would be particularly agreeable to me, and then I must never expect to have it, but just the contrary to what I desired. They do not approve of my employing English, in order to make it appear more plainly that I am looked upon as an absolute foreigner in their country; at least they ought to allow me to have my own subjects, or French people, such as I like, and to receive from their faithful service some consolation between these four walls,

where, being confined and watched so closely as they are accustomed to be, I know not what just suspicion can be conceived of them when once shut up here. However, I beg you to make very urgent application that I may be permitted to send for those whom I have demanded, as well from France as from Scotland, according to the promise made to me by the lips of the said Queen, my good sister herself, that I should have an increase and supply of servants; a promise confirmed to my secretary by Mr. Walsyngham, and since, in his name, by Wadde, having given it in writing to my said secretary, and again by Sir Raff Sadler and Sommer, when there, was lately by my present keeper, being assured in these very words, that I might send to France and Scotland for such servants as I thought proper, but that I must not have English on any account. If they are afraid, lest, by means of the said servants whom I desire to bring over from France, I should receive news of the affairs of that country, it is a vain apprehension, for I have nothing wherein to intermeddle there, and if I had any interest, it is very certain that those who might be well affected toward me, and have compassion on my condition here, will not take one step less, either forward or backward, because they are deprived of the means of receiving news from me, and I from them; on the contrary, that would spur them on still more, apprehending the danger from the death to be greater than, peradventure, it is.

"This is, for the present, what I have to communicate to you on the sudden, concerning the just dissatisfaction I feel on finding myself so unworthily used and treated; whereof, hoping, through your favorable

intercessions and good offices, to find some remedy, I shall only apologize for having troubled you about such bagatelles, and especially for being obliged to make known to you my real state here, which otherwise might be disguised from you; so, awaiting your answer about all this, I pray God to have you, gentlemen, in his holy and worthy keeping. Written at the Castle of Tuthbury, in England, the vth September, 1585. Your entirely best friend,

"MARY R."

"Gentlemen, I am ashamed to be under the necessity of representing to you so particularly my miserable situation here, but the evil presses me, and constrains me to declare it to you, in order that they may not put you off, yonder, with words without affording me any relief, of which I have no hope whatever, since I see nothing at this time which tends to realize that honorable treatment which has been so much talked of. Sir Amyas had already signified to me the reply to my memorial, and an hour ago I received your last, and on considering both, I find, in fact, no cause for content, either in the one or the other, which makes me entreat you more earnestly than ever, to follow up the contents of the above letter."

She also addressed a memorial to Elizabeth, in which the following particulars confirm the statements above:

"That to settle those matters which formerly led to differences between her and her son, she may be permitted to send some one to him, accompanied by

the French ambassador, agreeably to the most express commission which he has to this effect from the King, his master.

"That the ordinary communication which she has hitherto had with the said ambassador may be continued; and, accordingly, directions given for the most diligent dispatch of their packets, as well on the one part as on the other; nothing passing between them that can in any way prove prejudicial to this kingdom.

"That her household establishment here be determined upon and fixed; in order that, as the said Queen, her good sister, has been pleased to assure her, she may take her into her own keeping, and into her own house: also, that from her alone, she may receive her allowance in this country.

"That a second house may be granted her to remove to on finishing her course of diet, or next autumn, at latest; it being quite impossible, without great detriment to her health, to live in winter in the two rooms which she has here for the whole of her lodgings, which are built of wood, old, full of holes, and tumbling down on all sides, and having no sheltered place whatever, to walk in or retire to.

"That in regard to the servants allowed her, and that they may not have the trouble of traveling hither in vain, it be declared whether she shall be permitted to bring over any she may choose, as she might select some from the household of Guise, having no other acquaintance in France through whom to get them.

"And that, as for ordinary varlets, her servants may be permitted to employ Englishmen, so as to

avoid the frequent coming and going of such persons, whom it is difficult to retain."

The wretched Mary was a deserted invalid, mourning over the unfilial conduct of James VI., who had entered upon a negotiation, contemplating the alliance, by treaty, of Scotland to England. She became passionately excited at his course, and threatened to disown, disinherit, and curse him; approving any invasion of his realm by foreign powers. She declared that she had no wish again to step upon her native soil; and asked only for repose of body and soul, before her death, which, she was persuaded, would soon end her captivity.

Abandoning the hope of escape, she forcibly and laconically described her desperate state in these words:

"The old excuses of bygone times are alleged for my detention; now a change in Scotland, now a disturbance in France, now the discovery of a conspiracy in this country, and, in fine, the least innovation that may occur in any part of Christendom; so that it is likely I shall be liberated, as children say, when all the world is at peace and quietness. May God in his omnipotence be my aid and protection; and may he in his justice judge my cause between me and my enemies, as I hope he will do sooner or later." *

* The sorrowful lines, in her favorite language, composed during this imprisonment, will interest the French reader:

"Que suis-je, hélas! et de quoy sert ma vie?
Je ne suis fors qu'un corps privé de cueur
Un ombre vain, un objet de malheur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir envie.

December, 1585, Mary was taken from Tutbury to Chartley, in Staffordshire. Though treated more kindly, she was watched with no less constancy and care.

While Mary Stuart thus languished in prison, friends to her and the ancient faith she professed, were busy with fresh plots for her deliverance. The English refugees and proscribed priests in the pay of Philip II. engaged in a conspiracy for invading the kingdom and dethroning Elizabeth. Past experience stimulated rather than daunted a faction, whose mission was also the spread of a persecuting and corrupt church.

John Savage, an English Catholic, returning from an official service in the Spanish army, at Rheims, met Dr. William Gifford, a countryman and Papist, who suggested, as the highest deed of pious bravery in his power, the assassination of Elizabeth—the prelude to a maturing plan of invasion. He accepted the honor, and was to shoot or stab the Queen, in the gallery through which she passed to and from chapel.

But before he could attempt the execution of his purpose, a priest, named Ballard, arrived in London, May 22d, 1585, on the same mission. Encountering

> Plus ne portez, o ennemis, d'auvie
> A qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur!
> La consommé d'excessive doulleur;
> Votre ire en brief se voirra assouvie;
> Et vous amys, qui m'avez tenu chère,
> Souvenez-vous que sans heur, sans santay,
> Je ne sçaurois auqun bon œuvre fayre,
> Souhatez donc fin de calamitay;
> Et que sa bas estant assez punie
> J'aye ma part en la joye infinie."

Anthony Babington, a gentleman of fortune and gay life, who had been for years devoted to Mary Stuart, Ballard proposed to him the plot. He entered into it enthusiastically, and associated with him Savage and five of his own friends. Walsingham, the English minister, had arranged a complete system of espionage, and scarcely had the conspirators assembled, when his agents were without suspicion admitted to their councils. He also communicated to Mary Stuart through a treacherous Catholic priest, the secret designs against Elizabeth, to secure her approval, and the inevitable doom which would follow; and so rid the realm of the dreaded captive.

During the summer, Gifford, Walsingham's spy, was busy, preparing the way of access to Mary's partizans and herself. He at length obtained the necessary confidence among the Papists of London, and letters of introduction to the prisoner at Chartley. In March, 1586, he returned from an interview with Mary, the accepted messenger of the fatally deluded victim of ambition and Catholic zeal. The ignis fatuus of false hope again dawned before her fading eye, and her pantings after freedom impelled her on to ruin. This was the opening work in the celebrated "Babington Conspiracy." The presiding genius of the daring machination thus expressed his plans, in a letter which Gifford transmitted to Walsingham:

"Myself in person, with ten gentlemen and a hundred others of our company and suite, will undertake the deliverance of your royal person from the hands of your enemies. As regards getting rid of the usur-

per from subjection to whom we are absolved, by the act of excommunication issued against her, there are six gentlemen of quality, all of them my intimate friends, who, for the love they bear to the Catholic cause and to your majesty's service, will undertake the tragic execution. It remains now, that, according to their infinite desert, and your majesty's goodness, their heroic enterprise should be honorably recommended in themselves, if they escape with their lives, or in their posterity, if they fall; and that I may give them this assurance by your majesty's authority."

Poor Mary was in the snares of the artful fowler. July 27th, having received the intercepted letter, she wrote to Babington as follows:

"Affairs being thus prepared, then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen to work; taking order, upon the accomplishing of their design, I may suddenly be transported out of the place, and that all your forces, in the same time, be on the field to meet me, whilst we wait the arrival of help from abroad, which must then be hastened with all diligence. Nor for that there can be no certain day appointed of the accomplishing the said gentlemen's designment—to the end that others may be in readiness to take me from hence, I would that the said gentlemen had always about them, or at the least, at court, four stout men furnished with good and speedy horses, for, so soon as the said design shall be executed, to come with all diligence, to advertise thereof those that shall be appointed for my transporting; to the end that, immediately thereafter, they may be at the place of my

abode, before that my keeper can have advice of the execution of the said design; or at least before he can fortify himself within the house, or carry me out of the same. It were necessary to dispatch two or three of the said advertisers by divers ways, to the end that if one be staid, the other may come through; and at the same instant, were it also needful, to essay to cut off the post's ordinary ways. If I remain here, there is for my escape but one of these three means following to be looked to. The first, that at one certain day appointed, in my walking abroad on horseback on the moors, betwixt this and Stafford, where ordinarily you know very few people do pass, a fifty or three-score horsemen, well horsed and armed, come to take me there; as they may easily, my keeper having with him ordinarily but eighteen or twenty horsemen. The second mean is to come at midnight, or soon after, to set fire in the barns and stables, which you know are near to the house; and whilst that my guardian's servants shall rush forth to the fire, your company (having every one a mark whereby they may know one another under night,) might surprise the house, where I hope, with the few servants I have about me, I were able to give you correspondence. And the third: some that bring carts hither, ordinarily coming early in the morning; their carts might be so prepared, and with such cart-leaders, that being cast in the midst of the great gate, the cart might fall down or overwhelm, and that thereupon you might come suddenly with your followers to make yourself masters of the house, and carry me away."

When Walsingham had possessed himself of all

the proofs required, and the track of each conspirator, he informed Elizabeth of the terrible intrigues around her throne. She was alarmed, and ordered an immediate arrest of the guilty men. With manifold difficulties and partial failures, the leaders were secured in the Tower. Walsingham now was ready to treat Mary Stuart as their accomplice. According to an unsuspected arrangement, she was invited to join a hunting party in a neighboring park; she gladly accepted. It was on the 8th of August; and while riding away from Chartley, Sir Thomas Gorges appeared before her, informed her of the discovered conspiracy, and of orders to conduct her to Tixall Castle,* whose grounds were the sporting field in view. The astonished Queen was silent awhile, then with great vehemence indulged in bitter reproaches, and inquired of her attendants if they would permit the disgraceful capture, without an effort to defend her person. She was led to the fortress, confined in a small apartment, and allowed to see none but strangers. During the absence of seventeen days from Chartley, her desks were opened by Wood and Paulet, who transmitted her papers, jewelry and money to Elizabeth. The Queen of England was relieved, and joyful, and extravagantly thanked the Vandals for their pillage. August 25th, when with a large escort of horsemen she reëntered Chartley, the spectacle of her desolate room kindled her indignation, and she exclaimed, "There are two things which the Queen of England can never take from me—the

* Tixall, the mansion of Sir Walter Aston, was about three miles from Chartley, which in turn is eleven miles northeast of Stafford.

blood royal which gives me a right to the succession of England, and the attachment which makes my heart beat for the religion of my fathers."

Babington, Ballard and Savage were condemned for treason, and to make their fate the more influential in deterring others from similar crimes, they were put to the torture, and made the targets of royal vengeance.

September 20th, with their confederates, they were taken to St. Giles-in-fields,* where they had held their meetings, and there drawn and quartered in the sight of a horror-smitten populace. Elizabeth accumulated evidence of Mary's guilt, and yet the fear of foreign interference, and the enmity of powerful friends of the prisoner, created hesitation and conflicting emotions, before she decided to bring her to trial.

Mary no longer fanned the embers of hope; she wept at the threshold of her last earthly trial, whose issues would deliver up to the final audit, that arraigns alike Kings and serfs, her eventful career.

* The church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields is situated in High-street, a little to the south of New Oxford-street, London.

CHAPTER IX.

Nineteen years of captivity had worn away, and Mary Stuart's death, which had been often suggested and anxiously desired, was the theme of grave and final discussion between Elizabeth and her privy council. Closer imprisonment was urged in opposition to capital punishment. But the consideration of the safety of the Queen of England, and the triumph of Protestantism, decided the vote for a public trial, and judicial sentence. The statute under which the prisoner was arraigned, was the law passed after the act of association expired, the year before, conferring the power to prosecute and execute any person who should assert a right to the English throne, or engage in plots to wrest the crown from the brow of Elizabeth. This was more plausible than the statute of Edward III., on high treason.

Mary was indicted October 5th, 1586, before a court of state officers, peers, and counselors of the sovereign. The whole number of eminent names in the tribunal was forty-six. Fortheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, was selected as the place of trial. Mary Stuart was escorted to the fortress the next day, where she received a letter from Elizabeth, repeating her cutting accusations, and urging her to submit to the course of justice. Turning to Paulet and Mildmay, her keeper and privy counselor, she said, with great emotion and resentment:

"What! does your mistress not know that I am a Queen born? Does she think that I will degrade my rank, my condition, the race from which I spring, the son who is to succeed me, the foreign kings and princes whose rights would be injured in my person, by obeying such a letter as that!—Never! Humbled as I may seem, my heart is too great to submit to any humiliation!"

She added, further, that she was deprived of her papers, destitute of advisers, and surrounded by enemies; that she was ignorant of the laws and the statutes of the kingdom, where she must look in vain for peers competent to try her; and finally declared that she was innocent. "I have neither," she said, "directed nor encouraged any attempt against your mistress. I am certain that nothing of the kind can be proved against me, although I frankly confess that, when my sister had rejected all my offers, I committed myself and my cause to the care of foreign princes."

Mary's refusal to be treated as a criminal, and asserting her queenly dignity, did not foil her captor, who ordered the commissioners to commence the investigation; while, to obtain consent to the legal ordeal, she wrote the desolate, yet proud descendant of Bruce, in this strain:

"You have tried in various ways to take my life, and to ruin my kingdom by bloodshed. I have never acted so harshly towards you, but, on the contrary, have preserved you as if you were my second self. Your treasonable acts will be proved and made man-

ifest. For this reason, our pleasure is that you reply to the nobles and peers of my kingdom, as you would do if I myself were present. I require and command you to do this. I have been informed of your arrogance: act with candor, and you shall be treated with greater favor."

Lord Burghley advised Mary to yield to what was inevitable; and after a night of mental anguish—the fierce struggle of wounded pride with resistless power—she gave her consent to answer her judges upon the charges presented.

October 14th, followed by a detachment of halberdiers, and supported by her maître d'hôtel, Sir Andrew Melville, and her physician, Bourgoin, for she walked with great difficulty, she descended into the great hall of Fotheringay, where the commissioners were seated in the form of a court of justice. At one end of the hall, under a dais, surmounted by the arms of England alone, stood, in an elevated position, an arm-chair, reserved for the absent Queen Elizabeth, and which remained unoccupied. On each side of the dais were ranged, in the order of their respective dignities, the different commissioners: on the right, the Lord Chancellor Bromley, the Lord High Treasurer Burghley, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Viscount Montagu; on the left, Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, and other peers, next to whom were the Lords of the Privy Council, Crofts, Hatton, Walsingham, Sadler, Mildmay, and Paulet. More in the front were placed, on the right, the Chief Justices of

England and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and on the left, the other judges and barons, along with two doctors of civil law. In the centre were seated, around a table, the Queen's Attorney General, Popham; her Solicitor, Egerton; her Law Sergeant, Gawdy; and Thomas Powell, Clerk of the Crown, together with two clerks of the court, to write out the proceedings. A few gentlemen of the neighborhood who were allowed to be present, stood at the bar.*

The helpless Queen was undaunted by the brilliant and solemn array of England's statesmen and jurists, and offered her salutations with the mournful air of fallen greatness, and the gracefulness of perfect refinement. When led to the velvet chair designed for her, and set without the royal canopy, she was touched with the insult to her dignity, and said with imperial tone, "I am a Queen; I was married to a King of France, and my place should be there." Then glancing along the aisle of nobles and counselors, she added, "Alas! there are a great number of counselors here, and yet not one of them is for me."

Bromley, the Chancellor, rose as Mary Stuart took her seat, and opened the imposing trial, by declaring the imperative duty the cause of God and invaded authority imposed upon Elizabeth, to arraign and try the prisoner. The clerk of the crown followed with the reading of the commission of the court. Mary, in reply, claimed her rights as a princess, and accused her rival of unkindly abusing her confidence, in rejecting all overtures, and detaining her a captive.

The intercepted letters, and the confessions of the

* Mignet.

conspirators, were then read. Mary immediately, and without the slightest embarrassment, assailed the testimony, denying its validity, because the documents were copies of unproduced originals, and the depositions were those of men whom she had never seen. She summed up her defence in these words, sighing deeply while she proceeded:

"I do not deny having wished for liberty, and having earnestly tried to regain it. Nature urged me to this; but I take God to witness, that I have never conspired against the life of the Queen of England, and that I never approved of such a conspiracy. I confess that I wrote to my friends, soliciting their aid in delivering me from the wretched prisons, where I have been held captive for nineteen years. I confess, too, that I have often written in favor of the persecuted Catholics, and that if I could have delivered them from oppression by the shedding of my own blood, I would have done it. But the letters produced against me were not written by me, and I cannot be answerable for the dangerous designs of desperate persons, who are unknown to me."

The Lord Treasurer answered with a close analysis of the Babington letter, and the corroborative evidence. Mary adroitly adhered to her position, and glanced at the character of such witnesses as she knew, with much discrimination and sarcasm; and thus closed her spirited and well delivered argument:

"And am I, a Queen, to be judged guilty on such proofs as these? Is it not manifest, that there must be an end to the majesty and security of princes, if they are made to depend on the writings and the testimony of their secretaries? I claim the privilege of

being judged from my own words and my own writings, and I am certain that none will be found against me."

Upon the second hearing before the commissioners, Mary did not repudiate all of her alleged correspondence, but still protested her innocence. She said, "I have been anxious that the safety of the Catholics should be provided for, but I never wished that it should be obtained by means of bloodshed and murder. I have preferred the part of Esther to that of Judith, seeking rather to intercede with God for the people, than to deprive even the meanest of them of life."

The invasion of England and Elizabeth's death, it was maintained, were connected inseparably. The prisoner insisted that she was guiltless of any design against the life of the Queen of England: with the eloquence of finished oratory and tears, she went on to say:

"With what justice am I treated! My letters have been picked out and perverted from their original meaning, and the originals have been taken from me. No consideration is shown for the religion which I profess, and the sacred character I bear as Queen. If my sentiments, my lords, are personally indifferent to you, you might at least consider the majesty of royalty, which is injured in my person, and think of the example you are setting. I entered this country confiding in the friendship and the promises of the Queen of England," and then, taking a ring from her finger, and holding it up to her judges, "Here, my lords, here is the pledge of love and protection which I received from your royal mistress. Look

well at it. It was in reliance upon this that I came among you. Nobody knows better than yourselves how this pledge has been respected." She then demanded to be heard before Parliament, or to have an interview with Elizabeth, and added, "As one who is accused of crimes, I claim the privilege of an advocate to plead my cause; or else, as a Queen, I call upon you to believe the word of a Queen."

After this appeal, October 15th, 1586, the commissioners unanimously gave the sentence of condemnation against the unhappy and defenceless Mary. The last act of her stern jurors and judges, which sealed her fate, charged her with the knowledge of the Babington plot, to destroy Elizabeth, and invade England with a Papal army. The legitimacy and honor of James VI. were carefully guarded in the ruin of the mother. Parliament assembled, and approved the decision; with expressions of thanksgiving to God for the discovery of the dangerous schemes of their sovereign's enemies, the members of both houses demanded of the Queen the execution of the sentence of the high court of the realm. In reply, she rendered praise to the Divine Goodness for miraculous deliverance from so many perils, and closed a message of regret that she was compelled to deal severely with "the unfortunate lady," in the following language:

"Do not hurry my decision. It is an affair of great importance, and I am accustomed to deliberate longer on less weighty matters before making up my mind. I shall pray Almighty God to enlighten my understanding, and to show me what will be best for the interests of his church, the prosperity of my people, and your own security."

"Elizabeth's mind was distressed with the responsibility which she could not escape. How far her apparent agitation was designed for effect, is a matter of conjecture, founded upon the general estimate of her character. But there was occasion to feel, as she said, more perplexed than ever before—that she could have wished to preserve her own life without sacrificing that of another—and that it appeared cruel to dip the hands of the executioner in the blood of so near a relative. In putting off with further delay the importunate Parliament, she closed the interview with the chancellor and speaker, saying: "If I accede to your request, I should say, perhaps, more than I think; and, if I reject it, I precipitate myself into the very danger from which you would save me. Accept, I pray you, my thanks and my perplexities, and take in good part an answer which is no answer."

Meanwhile, November 10th, Lord Bathurst and Robert Beale, clerk of the council, were dispatched to Fotheringay Castle, and announced to Mary the result of the trial, and the vote of Parliament, and urged an immediate preparation for execution. The terrible tidings were listened to by the royal captive with no visible signs of alarm or grief. She thanked God for being deemed worthy to be instrumental in advancing the Catholic faith, and to suffer in the holy cause. The messengers of doom assured her, that she could neither be regarded as a saint or a martyr, having been involved in the fearful intrigues, whose aim was an armed invasion of the kingdom, and the overthrow of its sovereign. She was treated thenceforth with marked indignity. Her request for a spiritual adviser was rejected; and Paulet ordered a can-

opy bearing her arms to be removed. The friendless Queen wrote the Pope, asking his blessing, committing her son to his fatherly care, and resigned herself to the prospect of hastening death. The following letters were written at this time. They disclose her frame of feeling, and her ardent devotion to the church of Rome.

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO DON BERNARD DE MENDOCA.*

"My very dear friend—Having ever found you zealous in the cause of God, and desirous of my welfare and deliverance from captivity, I have always communicated to you all my intentions upon that subject, begging you to make them known to the King, my good brother. For this same reason I now write to bid you a last adieu, notwithstanding the little leisure I have, being about to receive the stroke of death, which was announced to me on Saturday last; I do not know when, or in what manner; but at least you may praise God for me that, through his grace, I have had the heart to receive this unjust sentence of heretics with resignation, on account of the happiness which I esteem it to shed my blood at the requisition of the enemies of His church, who do me the honor to say that it cannot be subverted while I am alive, and also that their Queen cannot reign in safety in the same predicament.

"As for these two conditions, I have accepted without contradiction the high honor which they confer upon me, as one most zealous for the Catholic religion

* The Spanish Ambassador.

for which I have publicly offered my life; and, as for the other, although I have never committed either act or deed tending to take off her who was on the throne, unless it be that they make a crime of my right to the crown, which is acknowledged by all Catholics, yet I would not contradict them, leaving them to think as they please. This annoyed them much, and they told me that, whatever I might say or do, it will not be for the cause of religion that I shall die, but for having endeavored to murder their Queen. This I denied, as being utterly false, having never attempted any such thing, and leaving it to God and the church to dispose of this island in what relates to religion.

"The bearer of this has promised to relate to you how rigorously I have been treated by those here, and how ill served by others whom I did not expect to have shown so great a fear of death in so just a quarrel. They have not been able to draw anything from me but that I am a Queen, free, Catholic, and obedient to the church; and that, not being able to effect my deliverance by fair means, I was compelled to seek it by those which presented themselves. Nau has confessed all; Curle has in a great measure followed his example; so that everything turns against me. I am threatened, if I do not beg pardon; but I say that, as they had already destined me to die, they might proceed with their injustice, hoping that God will recompense me in another world; and, out of spite, because I will not speak, they came yesterday, Monday, and took down my canopy,* saying that I was no more than a dead woman, and without any

* A cloth of state, or a sort of throne.

rank. They are at present working in my hall—erecting the scaffold, I suppose, whereon I am to perform the last act of this tragedy. I die in a just cause, and am happy in having made over my rights to the King, your master. I have said that I consider him, should my son not return to the bosom of the church, as being a prince the most worthy to govern and direct this island. I have written to the same purposes to his Holiness, and I beg you to assure him that I die in the determination which I have communicated to you, and also another, whom you know to be his dearest and most intimate friend, and a fourth, and these above all others I bequeath to the protection of the King, beseeching him in God's name not to abandon them, and entreating them to serve him in place of me. As I cannot write to them, greet them in my name, and pray to God, all of you, for my soul. I have asked for a priest; but I do not know if my request will be granted. They have offered me one of their bishops; but I positively refused him. You may believe all that the bearer of this shall tell you, and also those two poor girls who have been immediately about my person; they will tell you the truth, which I beg you to make public, as I fear that a very different interpretation will be given. Order a mass to be said for the deliverance and repose of my soul; you know the place I mean—and let the churches in Spain remember me in their prayers. Keep the name of the bearer of this secret; he has been a faithful servant to me. God grant you a long and happy life! You will receive from me as a token of my remembrance, a diamond, which I have held very dear, having been given to me by the

late Duke of Norfolk as a pledge of his troth, and I have always worn it as such: keep it for my sake. I do not know if I shall have leave to make a will. I have applied for it, but they have all my money. God be with you! Excuse what I write in sorrow and trouble, not having any one to help me to make my rough draughts, and to write for me. If you cannot read my hand, the bearer will read it for you, or my ambassador, whom he knows.

"Among other accusations, that of Criton (Crighton) is one which I know nothing of. I fear greatly that Nau and Pasquier have hastened my death, having kept some papers, and they are men who will turn on any side for their own advantage. Would to God Fontenay had been here! He is a young man of great knowledge and resolution.

"Once more, adieu. I recommend to you my poor, and henceforth destitute servants, and pray for my soul.

"From Fotheringay, Wednesday, the 23d of November, 1586. I recommend to you the poor Bishop of Ross, who will be shortly destitute.

"Your very obliging and perfect friend,

"MARY R."

THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

"My good cousin—You whom I hold most dear in the world, I bid you farewell, being on the point of being put to death, by an unjust judgment, such a one as never any belonging to our race yet suffered, much less one of my rank. But praise God, my good cousin; for, situated as I have been, I was useless to

the world in the cause of God and his church; but I hope that my death will bear witness of my constancy in the faith, and my readiness to die for the support and restoration of the Catholic church in this unfortunate island. And though executioner never yet dipped his hand in our blood, be not ashamed, my friend; for the judgment of these heretics and enemies of the church, and who have no jurisdiction over me, a free Queen, is profitable before God and the children of his church, which, had I not adhered to, this stroke had been spared me. All those of our house have been persecuted by this sect; witness, your good father, with whom I hope to be received in mercy by the just Judge.

"I recommend, then, to you, all my poor servants, the discharge of my debts, and the founding of some annual obit for my soul; not at your expense, but to make such solicitation and arrangements as shall be requisite to fulfill my intentions, which you will be informed of by my poor, disconsolate servants, eye-witnesses of this, my last tragedy.

"May God prosper your wife, children, brothers and cousins, and especially our head, my good brother and cousin, and all belonging to him! May the blessing of God, and that which I should give to my own children, be upon yours, whom I commend to God, not less sincerely than my own unfortunate and deluded son! You will receive tokens (rings) from me to remind you to have prayers said for the soul of your poor cousin, destitute of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage to withstand alone so many wolves howling after me; to God be the glory! Believe, in particular, a person

who will give you, in my name, a ruby ring, for I assure you, upon my conscience, that this person will tell you the truth agreeably to my desire, especially as to what concerns my poor servants, and the share of each. I recommend to you this person for her sincerity and honesty, in order that she may be put into some good place. I have chosen her as being the most impartial, and as one who will most simply report my commands. I beg you not to let it be known that she has said anything to you in private, for envy might injure her.

"I have suffered much for the last two years and upward, but have not been able to inform you of it for an important reason. God be praised for all things, and may he give you grace to persevere in the service of his church, so long as you live, and may that honor never depart from our race, that all of us, both males and females, may be ready to shed our blood in the defence of the faith, regardless of all other worldly interests! For my own part, I think myself born, both on the father's and the mother's side, to offer up my blood for it, and have no intention to degenerate. May Jesus, crucified for us, and all the holy martyrs, render us, by their intercession, worthy of the free-will offering of our bodies for his glory. From Fotheringay, Thursday, this 24th Nov.

"Thinking to degrade me, they took down my canopy; and my keeper afterward came and offered to write to the Queen, saying that this act had not been done by her command, but by the advice of some of her council. I showed them, on the said canopy, in place of my coat of arms, the cross of my Saviour.

You will be informed of all that was said; they have since been more indulgent.

"Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend,
"MARY R., of Scotland,
"Dowager of France."

Whether the touching communication was received or not, is unknown.

A sonnet written with the violent close of existence in view, is melancholy evidence of poetical genius, which, through years of suffering, had seldom breathed in verse the captive's moan.

"Alas! what am I? and in what estate?
A wretched corse, bereaved of its heart;
An empty shadow lost, unfortunate;
To die is now in life my only part.
Foes to my greatness, let your envy rest;
In me no taste for grandeur now is found,
Consumed by grief, with heavy ills opprest,
Your wishes and desires will soon be crowned.
And you, my friends, who still have held me dear,
Bethink you, that when health and heart are fled,
And every hope of future good is dead,
'Tis time to wish our sorrows ended here,
And that this punishment on earth is given,
That I may live to endless bliss in heaven." *

* *Written on a large sheet of paper.*

"Que suis-je, hélas? et de quoy sert la vie?
Je'n suis fors qu'un corps privé de cœur,
Un ombre vain, un object de malheur,
Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir en vie.
Plus ne me portez—O ennemis, d'envie:
Qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur,
Votre ire en bref devoir assouvir.
Et vous amis, qui m'avez tenu chère,
Souvenez-vous que sans cœur, et sans santé

She also sent her last message to Elizabeth, in affecting language, breathing the crushed ambition of a long life—regard for a form which had been the admiration of the world—and solicitude for those, however humble, who were faithful unto death:

"Madam, I return thanks to God with all my heart, that it pleases him to put an end, through your decree, to the weary pilgrimage of my life. I do not ask that it may be prolonged, having had but too long experience of its bitterness. I only beseech your majesty that, as I cannot look for any kindness from certain zealous ministers who hold the highest rank in the government of England, I may receive from you alone, and not from others, the following favors:

"In the first place, I ask that, as it is not allowable for me to expect a burial in England, according to the Catholic solemnities practised by the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine, and as in Scotland dishonor and violence has been done to the ashes of my progenitors—as soon as my enemies shall be satiated with my innocent blood, my body may be carried by my servants into some godly land, especially France, where the bones of the Queen, my honored mother, repose, in order that this poor body, which has never known repose since it has been united to my soul, may at length find peace when separated from it.

"Secondly, I pray your majesty, from the apprehension I feel for the tyranny of those to whose power you have abandoned me, that I may not be executed in any secret place, but in the sight of my

Je ne sçaurois aucun bon œuvre faire;
Souhaitez donc fin de calamite."

domestics and other persons who may be able to bear witness to my faith and obedience in the true church, and to defend the remainder of my life and my last breath from the false reports which my enemies may spread.

"Thirdly, I request that my domestics, who have served me through so many troubles, and with so much fidelity, may be allowed to retire freely wherever they may wish to go, and to enjoy the small presents which my poverty has bequeathed them in my will.

"I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our relationship, by the memory of Henry VII., our common parent, and by the title of Queen, which I still bear till death, not to refuse these my reasonable requests, and to give me assurance of that by a line under your hand; and thereupon I will die, as I have lived, your affectionate sister and prisoner."

Whether the touching communication was received or not, is unknown.

The condemnation of Mary had aroused adjacent kingdoms, and startled the civilized world. Ambassadors from Scotland and France arrived at the court of England, to intercede with expostulations and threats in behalf of the desolate princess. Elizabeth answered that mercy to Mary Stuart would be cruelty to herself; and to make a demonstration of popular feeling in the face of foreign remonstrance, she directed the sentence of the court to be proclaimed in the streets of London. The Lord Mayor, Earl of Pembroke, and the aldermen, attended the ceremony.

The last tones of the herald's voice were lost in acclamations and ringing of bells, while bonfires illumined at night the rocking towers of every belfry in the capital. For twenty-four hours these rejoicings continued. The ambassadors of Henry III., of France, anticipating the immediate execution of Mary, interposed a petition for a postponement of the fatal blow.

In the meantime, M. de Bellièvere, one of the envoys, embarked for France, and Elizabeth sent to confront him, a special messenger, instructed to resent the King's bold interference, and explain her own acts.

James VI. manifested no very intense interest in his mother's deliverance. Ruled by her political policy of grasping power, at all hazards, he preferred the alliance with Elizabeth to Mary's life. He congratulated the Queen of England upon the detection of the late conspiracy; and said respecting the prisoner, that she had broken her promises to Elizabeth, and must drink the draught she had "brewed for herself." But when it was known that the sentence of death was impending, the King, who had not anticipated this result, sent William Keith with a filial, menacing message to the court of England. Upon receiving a haughty reply from Elizabeth, James cowered and simply pressed the demand that his mother be no more than securely confined. The choice of peace with allies instead of yielding to the impulses of strongest natural affection, awakened the indignation of his subjects, and murmurs of disapproval were heard whenever he crossed the threshold of his palace. Elizabeth continued undecided. Ru-

mors of new conspiracies were abroad; a prisoner in Newgate had proposed to D'Estroppes, member of the French embassy, if he would pay him one hundred and twenty crowns, which would release the debt that incarcerated him, to assassinate the Queen. The offer was promptly spurned, but accusations which were made by a disappointed conspirator, Stafford, involved the ambassadors of Henry in serious trouble. Elizabeth became sad and gloomy; amusements were abandoned, and she was overheard repeating to herself the Latin quotation: "*Aut fer aut; ne feriare feri.*" "Strike or be struck; if you would not be struck, strike."

The crisis had come when Elizabeth must take the responsibility of final action on Mary's fate. February 1st, 1587, Secretary Davison, who was summoned to her presence, appeared before her with the warrant of execution, drawn by High Treasurer Humphrey. She read it carefully, asked for a pen, and signed the instrument of death. She forbade a public execution, and ordered that it should take place in the great hall of the castle, instead of the open court; intimating strongly that Paulet, the keeper, and his companions, might have relieved her of the burden of deciding the matter, had they been anxious to serve her. The same day, Davison and Walsingham wrote to Paulet the following:

"After our cordial greetings, we perceive, from some words lately spoken by her majesty, that she remarks in you a want of diligence and of zeal in not having discovered of yourselves (without other instigation) some mode of putting that Queen to death, considering the great danger to which her

majesty is exposed, as long as the said Queen is in life. Not to speak of the want of affection towards her, her majesty remarks further, that you do not consider your own safety, or rather the preservation of religion, of the public weal, and of the prosperity of your country, as reason and policy require you to do. Your conscience would be peaceful before God, and your reputation clear before the world, since you have taken the solemn oath of the *Association,* and since, moreover, the facts charged against that Queen have been clearly proved. Her majesty, therefore, feels great displeasure at men who profess attachment to her, as you do, thus failing in their duty, and seeking to throw on her the weight of this affair, well knowing, as you do, her repugnance to the shedding of blood, particularly that of a person of her sex and her rank, and so near a relative.

"We perceive that these considerations trouble her majesty greatly, who, we can assure you, has repeatedly declared that if she did not feel a greater concern for the dangers which her faithful subjects and her good servants run, than for those which threaten herself, she would never consent that this Queen's blood should be shed. We think it very necessary to inform you of these sentiments expressed not long since by her majesty, and to submit them to your good judgment, and so we recommend you to the Almighty's protection."

Paulet received this appeal to unscrupulous loyalty, February 2d, at evening; though an unfeeling jailer, he was above cowardly murder, and wrote in reply:

"Having received your letter of yesterday at five

o'clock in the afternoon of this day, I could not fail to send you an answer with all possible dispatch, as you direct. I send it you in all the bitterness which my heart feels at being so unfortunate as to see the day when, by the injunctions of my most gracious sovereign, I am required to commit an act which God and the laws forbid. My property, my place, and my life are at her majesty's disposal, and I am ready to surrender them to-morrow, if such is her good pleasure, acknowledging that I hold them from her sole and gracious favor; I do not desire to enjoy them but with the good will of her highness. But God preserve me from making such a pitiable shipwreck of my conscience, or leaving so foul a stain on my posterity, as to shed blood without the authority of the law, and without a public act. I hope her majesty, with her accustomed clemency, will take my loyal answer in good part."

Elizabeth, upon reading this spirited and manly letter, uttered expressions of scorn; and had no other alternative than to let penalty reach its illustrious mark.

With the papers properly signed and sealed, the members of the privy council proceeded to the concluding deed in the slow destruction of a beautiful and powerless Queen. Mary was in awful suspense, fearing especially secret assassination. February 5th, Robert Beale, Elizabeth's envoy to James VI., accompanied by the London executioner, arrived at Fotheringay Castle. He acquainted the castellans with his mission, and then hastened to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, who were to see the sentence executed on the morning of the 8th. About noon of

the 7th, all the actors in the approaching scene of blood were assembled in the castle. Alarm seized the servants, as the signs of the dreaded consummamation gathered about them. Mary was on her couch in bodily weakness and pain. The Earls requested to see her; and she replied, though ill, if it were deemed necessary, she would meet them. When told delay was not permitted, she dressed herself, and seated by a small work table, calmly awaited their coming. Her limited retinue was around her. The grand marshal of England, followed by Beale and the jailers, entered the room uncovered and bowing, and told the mournful captive that the sentence delayed more than two months, could no longer be deferred; that Elizabeth was forced to the execution of it by the clamor of her subjects, and they had come to do her will.

Mary serenely listened, and then desired Beale to read the warrant for the execution:

Warrant for the Execution of the Queen of Scots.

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To our trusty and well beloved cousins, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England, Henry, Earl of Kent, Henry, Earl of Derby, George, Earl of Cumberland, and Henry, Earl of Pembroke, greeting, &c.

"Whereas sithence the sentence given by you, and others of our Council, Nobility and Judges, against the Queen of Scots, by the name of Mary, Daughter of James the Fifth, late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, as is to you well known; all the States in the last Parliament assembled did not only deliberately, by great advice, allow and approve the same sentence as just and honorable, but also with all humbleness and earnestness possible, at sundry times require, solicit and press us to direct

such further execution against her Person, as they did adjudge her to have duly deserved; adding thereunto, that the forbearing thereof was, and would be daily, certain and undoubted danger, not only unto our own life, but also unto themselves, their posterity, and the public estate of this Realm, as well for the cause of the Gospel and true Religion of Christ, as for the peace of the whole Realm; whereupon we did, although the same were with some delay of time, publish the same Sentence by our Proclamation, yet hitherto have forborn to give direction for the further satisfaction of the aforesaid most earnest requests, made by our said States of our Parliament; whereby we do daily understand, by all sorts of our loving subjects, both of our Nobility and Council, and also of the wisest, greatest, and best devoted of all subjects of inferior degrees, how greatly and deeply, from the bottom of their hearts they are grieved and afflicted, with daily, yea hourly fears of our life, and thereby consequently with a dreadful doubt and expectation of the ruin of the present happy and godly estate of this Realm, if we should forbear the further final execution, as it is deserved, and neglect their general and continued requests, prayers, counsels and advices, and thereupon, contrary to our natural disposition in such case, being overcome with the evident weight of their counsels, and their daily intercessions, imparting such a necessity, as appeareth, directly tending to the safety not only of ourself, but also to the weal of our whole Realm; we have condescended to suffer justice to take place, and for the execution thereof upon the special trusty experience and confidence which we have of your loyalties, faithfulness and love, both toward our Person and the safety thereof, and also to your native countries, whereof you are most noble and principal Members, we do will, and by Warrant hereof do authorize you, as soon as you shall have time convenient, to repair to our Castle of Fotheringay, where the said Queen of Scots is in custody of our right trusty and faithful servant and Counsellor, Sir Amyas Powlet, Knight: and then taking her into your charge, to cause by your commandment execution to be done upon her person, in the presence of yourselves, and the aforesaid Sir Amyas Powlet, and of such other officers of justice as you shall com-

mand to attend upon you for that purpose; and the same to be done in such manner and form, and at such time and place, and by such persons, as to five, four, or three of you shall be thought by your discretions convenient, notwithstanding any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary: And these our Letters Patents, sealed with our Great Seal of England, shall be to you, and every of you, and to all persons that shall be present, or that shall be by you commanded to do anything appertaining to the aforesaid Execution, a full, sufficient Warrant, and discharge forever. And further, we are also pleased and contented, and hereby we do will, command, and authorize our Chancellor of England, at the requests of you all and every of you, the duplicate of our Letters Patents, to be to all purposes made, dated, and sealed with our Great Seal of England, as these Presents now are.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Given at our Manor of Greenwich, the 1st day of February, in the twenty-ninth year of our Reign."

When the reading was finished, Mary made the sign of the cross, and said:

"God be praised for the news you bring me. I could receive none better, for it announces to me the conclusion of my miseries, and the grace which God has granted me to die for the honor of his name, and of his church, Catholic, apostolic, and Roman. I did not expect such a happy end, after the treatment I have suffered and the dangers to which I have been exposed for nineteen years in this country—I, born a Queen, the daughter of a king, the grand-daughter of Henry VII., the near relation of the Queen of England, Queen Dowager of France, and who, though a free princess, have been kept in prison without legitimate cause, though I am subject to nobody, and recognize no superior in this world, excepting God."

Mary laid her hand upon a Testament, and reäffirmed that she never sought, nor consented to any means, of taking Elizabeth's life. When the Earl of Kent remarked that she swore on a Papal book, she immediately answered: "It is the book in which I believe; do you suppose my oath would be more sincere if I took it on yours, in which I do not believe?" She spurned the proposal to send the Dean of Peterborough, a Protestant, to attend her in the dying hour, but desired her own confessor, who had been taken from her several days before. The wish was basely disregarded. She then asked when she was to die; the Earl of Shrewsbury answered, "Tomorrow, madam, about 8 o'clock in the morning."

The earls departed, and Mary's servants crowded about her, weeping with breaking hearts. She soon after partook of an early supper, and called her attendants to the apartment. Pouring out wine, she drank to them, and with expressions of warm affection, asked from them a similar pledge of love. They fell on their knees, and poured out their tears afresh, as the last libation upon the altar of fidelity. They besought her to pardon all offences. She assured them of free forgiveness, and hoped they would extend the same charity to her.

She then retired to spend the night in writing and prayer. Near the dawn of day she completed her will, which ran as follows:

"In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, being on the point of death, and not having any means of making my will, have myself committed these articles to writing, and I will and desire that they have the same force as if they were made in due form.

"In the first place, I declare that I die in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish faith. First, I desire that a complete service be performed for my soul in the church of St. Denis, in France, and another at St. Peter's, at Rheims, where all my servants are to attend in such manner as they may be ordered to do, by those to whom I have given directions, and who are named herein.

"Further, that an annual obit be founded for prayers for my soul, in perpetuity, in such place, and after such manner, as shall be deemed most convenfent.

"To furnish funds for this, I will that my houses at Fontainebleau be sold, hoping that the king will render me assistance, as I have requested him to do in my memorandum.

"I will that my estate of Trespagny be kept by my cousin de Guize, for one of his daughters, if she should come to be married. In these quarters I relinquish half of the arrears due to me, or a part, on condition that the other be paid in order to be expended by my executors in perpetual alms.

"To carry this into effect the better, the documents shall be looked out, and delivered according to the assignment for accomplishing this.

"I will also that the money which may arise from my lawsuit with Secondat be distributed as follows:

"First, in the discharge of my debts and orders hereafter mentioned, and which are not yet paid; in the first place, the two thousand crowns to Courle; which I desire to be paid without any hesitation, they being a marriage portion, upon which neither Nau nor any other person has any claim, whatever obligation he may hold, inasmuch as it is only fictitious, and the money is mine and not borrowed, which since I did but show him, and afterward withdrew it, and it was taken from me, with the rest, at Chartelay; the which I gave him, provided he can recover it, agreeably to my promise, in payment of the four thousand francs promised at my death, one thousand as a marriage portion for an own sister, and he having asked me for the rest for his expenses in prison. As to the payment of a similar sum to Nau, it is not obligatory, and, therefore, it has always been my intention that it should be paid last, and then only in case he should make it appear

that he has not acted contrary to the condition upon which I gave it him, and to which my servants were witnesses.

"As regards the twelve hundred crowns, which he has placed to my account, as having been borrowed by him for my use, six hundred of Beauregard, three hundred of Gervais, and the remainder from I know not whom, he must repay them out of his own money, and I must be quit, and my order annulled, as I have not received any part of it, consequently it must be still in his possession, unless he has paid it away. Be this as it may, it is necessary that this sum should revert to me, I have received nothing; and in case it has not been paid away, I must have recourse to his property. I further direct, that Pasquier shall account for the moneys that he has expended and received by order of Nau, from the hands of the servants of Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, the French ambassador.

"Further, I will that my accounts be audited, and my treasurer paid.

"Further, that the wages and sums due to my household, as well for the last as for the present year, be paid them before all other things, both wages and pensions, excepting the pensions of Nau and Courle, until it be ascertained what there is remaining, or whether they have merited any pensions from me, unless the wife of Courle be in necessity, or be ill treated on my account: the wages of Nau after the same manner.

"I will that the two thousand four hundred francs which I have given to Jeanne Kenedy be paid to her in money, as it was stated in my first deed of gift, which done, the pension of Volly Douglas shall revert to me, which I give to Fontenay for services and expenses for which he has had no compensation.

"I will that the four thousand francs of that banker's be applied for and repaid; I have forgotten his name, but the Bishop of Glascou will readily recollect it; and if the first order be not honored, I desire that another may be given on the first money from Secondat.

"The ten thousand francs which the ambassador has received for me, I will that they be distributed among my servants who are now going away, viz.:

"First, two thousand francs to my physician.

" " " Elizabeth Courle.

" " " Sebastian Paiges.

" " " Marie Paiges, my god-daughter.

" " " Beauregard.

A thousand francs to Gourgon.

" " Gervais.

"Further, that out of the rest of my revenue, with remainder of Secondat's, and all other casualties, I will that five thousand francs be given to the foundling hospital of Rheims.

"To my scholars, two thousand francs.

"To four mendicants such sums as my executors may think fit, according to the means in their hands.

"Five hundred francs to the hospitals.

"To Martin *escuyer de cuisine*, I give a thousand francs.

"A thousand francs to Annibal, whom I recommend to my cousin de Guyse, his god-father, to place in some situation, for his life, in his service.

"I leave five hundred francs to Nicholas, and five hundred francs for his daughters, when they marry.

"I leave five hundred francs to Robin Hamilton and beg my son to take him and Monsieur de Glascou, or the Bishop of Rosse.

"I leave to Didier his registership, subject to the approbation of the king.

"I give five hundred francs to Jean Lander, and beg my cousin of Guyse, or of Mayne, to take him into their service, and Messieurs de Glascou and de Rosse to see him provided for. I will that his father be paid his wages, and leave him five hundred francs.

"I will that one thousand francs be paid to Gourgeon, for money and other things with which he supplied me in my necessity.

"I will that if Bourgoing should perform the journey agreeably to the vow which he made for me to Saint Nicholas, that fifteen hundred francs be paid to him for that purpose.

"I leave, according to my slender means, six thousand

francs to the Bishop of Glascou, and three thousand to him of Rosse.

"And I leave the gift of casualties and reserved seignorial rights to my god-son, the son of Monsieur de Ruisseau.

"I give three hundred francs to Laurenz.

"Also, three hundred francs to Suzanne.

"And leave ten thousand francs among the four persons who have been my sureties, and to Varmy, the solicitor.

"I will that the money arising from the furniture which I have ordered to be sold in London, shall go to defray the travelling expenses of my servants to France.

"My coach I leave to carry the ladies, and the horses, which they can sell, or do what they like with.

"There remains about three hundred crowns due to Bourgoing for the wages of past years, which I desire may be paid him.

"I leave two thousand francs to Melvin, my steward.

"I appoint my cousin, the Duke of Guise, principal executor of my will.

"After him, the Archbishop of Glascou, the Bishop of Rosse, and Monsieur du Ruisseau, my chancellor.

"I desire that Le Préau may, without obstacle, hold his two prebends.

"I recommend Marie Paiges, my god-daughter, to my cousin, Madame de Guise, and beg her to take her into her service, and my aunt de Saint * * * * * * *

MEMORANDUM—*Of the last requests which I make to the King.*

"To cause to be paid me all that is due to me of my pensions, as also of money advanced by the late queen, my mother, in Scotland, for the service of the king, my father-in-law, in those parts; that at least an annual obit may be founded for my soul, and that the alms and the little endowments promised me, may be carried into effect.

"Further, that he may be pleased to grant me the benefit of my dowry for one year after my death, to recompense my servants.

"Further, that he may be pleased to allow them their wages and pensions during their lives, as was done to the officers of

Queen Alienor. Further, I entreat him to take my physician into his service, according to his promise to consider him as recommended.

"Further, that my almoner may be replaced in his profession, and for my sake have some trifling benefice conferred upon him, so that he may pray to God for my soul, during the rest of his life.

"Further, that Didier, an old officer of my household, whom I have recompensed by a registership, may be permitted to enjoy it for his life, being already far advanced in years. Written on the morning of my death, this Wednesday, 8th of February, 1587.

"Signed, MARY QUEEN."

Nothing, perhaps, could give a better illustration of the clearness of Mary Stuart's intellect on the verge of old age, and the tranquillity of her spirit in view of death, than the preparation of this minute document. Officers of the realm were sleeping within those silent walls; King James was reposing in Holyrood Palace; the scaffold was the place of her next appearing before men; and yet she moved her facile pen without trembling or wandering thought. Depositing her papers in a casket, she applied herself to preparation for the block, and remarked, she must think only of appearing before God.

CHAPTER X.

The almoner of Mary, according to her request, spent the midnight hours in prayer, and sent her his absolution. She read in the Lives of the Saints, and pausing with emotion over the story of the penitent thief, remarked: "He was a great sinner; but not so great as I am. I beseech our Lord, in memory of his passion, to have remembrance and mercy of me, as he had of him, in the hour of death."

She then sought repose, to obtain strength for the coming trial of her courage and immortal hopes. Amid the tears and prayers of her women, the illustrious prisoner slept. As the beams of morning stole through the guarded windows upon her pale and mournful features, a smile of martyr-triumph passed over them. Whatever her true rank in the scale of moral being, she felt herself to be an offering to God in the service of the Catholic church. Rising in this twilight of opening day, she said she had only two hours to live; and immediately commenced preparations for the scaffold. Selecting a golden-fringed handkerchief for the bandage to cover her eyes, she arrayed her form in solemn magnificence. The servants were gathered about her—the will read, and the gifts of affection committed to their care; while she lavished on them jewelry, and purses of coin, adding expressions of consolation to alleviate the grief of separation.

Withdrawing from the weeping company, she went

to the oratory, where she was accustomed to bow with her spiritual counselor, before he was unfeelingly taken from her. The supplications of the dying were falling from her lips, when the summons of her executioners disturbed the earnest worshiper. She desired to finish her devotions, and was allowed to continue them. In a few moments the knocking was renewed, and the sheriff entered. Advancing to Mary, who had not moved, he lifted his white wand, and said, "Madam, the lords await you, and have sent me to you." She rose from her knees, and replied, "Yes, let us go." One of the attendants handed her an ivory crucifix from the altar; kissing the symbol, she ordered it to be carried before her to the place of execution.

Leaning, in her weakness, on two of her servants, she reached the limits of her own apartments, when they, with great delicacy of feeling, fell into the procession of mourners, and left her to the servitors of the jailer. At the staircase which led to the hall of death below, the servants were commanded to pause; entreaties to follow the Queen were in vain; and rushing to her feet, they clung with sobs to her dress, until forcibly removed. Bearing in one hand a prayer-book, and the cross in the other, with serene and majestic mien she descended the steps, in her widow's apparel; "A gown of dark crimson velvet with black satin corsage, from which chaplets and scapularies were suspended, and which was surmounted by a cloak of figured satin of the same color, with a long train lined with sable, a standing up collar and hanging sleeves. A white veil was thrown over her, reaching from her head to her feet."

When she entered the hall Andrew Melvil, her *maître d'hôtel*, met her to bid her farewell. Kneeling with uncontrollable grief, Mary embraced him, and with words of gratitude for his fidelity, charged him to give a true record of what was transpiring, to James VI., her son. He answered, "It will be the most sorrowful message I ever carried, to announce that the Queen, my sovereign and dear mistress, is dead." With a faint smile she said, "Thou shouldst rather rejoice, good Melvil, that Mary Stuart has arrived at the close of her misfortunes. Thou knowest that this world is indeed full of troubles and misery. Bear these tidings—that I die firm in my religion, a true Catholic, a true Scotch-woman, a true French-woman. May God forgive those who have sought my death. The Judge of the secret thoughts and actions of men knows that I have always desired the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son, and tell him I have never done anything that could prejudice the welfare of the kingdom, or his quality as a King, nor derogate in any respect from our sovereign prerogative."

Turning to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, she requested pardon for her secretary, Curle, and that the servants might attend her to the scaffold. The earls expressing a fear of trouble on account of their wild sorrow, and that they might attempt to dip their handkerchiefs in her blood: she replied: "My lords, I pledge my word that they will do nothing of the kind. Alas! poor souls, they will be gratified at taking leave of me; and I am sure your mistress, being a virgin Queen, would not refuse to allow another Queen to have her women about her at the moment

of her death. She cannot have given you such rigorous orders. You would grant me more than that even if I were a person of lower rank; and yet, my lords, you know that I am your Queen's cousin. You certainly will not refuse me this last request. My poor girls desire no more than to see me die."

The dying wish was granted, and she selected Burgoin, her physician; Gorion, her apothecary; Gervais, her surgeon; Didier, her butler; Jean Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle. Melvil bore the train of the Queen's dress. The scaffold was two feet and a half high, twelve feet square, and covered with black cloth. The chair, cushion on which she was to kneel, and the block, were all overlaid with the same sombre drapery. With as much dignity, repose of manner, and gracefulness, as though ascending a throne, Mary stepped upon the scaffold, and sat down in the chair of death.

On her right hand were seated the earls; on her left stood the sheriff; the two executioners were in front, dressed in black velvet, and the servants lined the walls; while two hundred people from the adjacent country crowded the barred area of the silent hall. It was a sad and moving sight. The fallen Queen, with the outline of fading beauty still visible, around whose fate in that gloomy castle there was a world-wide interest, sat calmly beholding the throng, and awaiting the fatal stroke. Beale then read the sentence, to which Mary listened unmoved.

When it was concluded, she made the sign of the cross, and said in clear accents:

"My lords, I am a Queen born, a sovereign princess, not subject to the laws, a near relation of the

Queen of England, and her lawful heiress. After having been long and unjustly detained prisoner in this country, where I have endured much pain and evil, though nobody had any right over me, being now, through the strength and under the power of men, ready to forfeit my life, I thank God for permitting me to die for my religion, and in presence of a company who will bear witness that, just before my death, I protested, as I have always done, both in private and in public, that I never contrived any means of putting the Queen to death, nor consented to anything against her person."

She added again her denial of enmity toward any, and of designs against Elizabeth. Engaging in fervent prayer, the Protestant dean, Dr. Fletcher, interrupted her, and exhorted her to prepare to die. Rejecting his offices, she told him that, firm in the Catholic faith, she expected to shed her blood for it. He urged her to repent, when Mary indignantly bade him be silent. The earls then said they wished to offer prayer in her behalf.

She answered, "My lords, if you will pray with me, I will even from my heart thank you, and think myself greatly favored by you; but to join in prayer with you in your manner, who are not of one religion with me, it were a sin, and I will not." Thus did the Reformation battle with Papacy on the platform of bloody penalty. The Dean proceeded with the following eloquent petition:

"Oh, most gracious God and merciful father, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away the sins of them that truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more, open, we beseech thee, thine eyes of mercy, and behold

this person appointed unto death, whose eyes of understanding and spiritual light, albeit thou hast hitherto shut up, that the glorious beams of thy favor in Jesus Christ do not shine upon her, but is possessed with blindness and ignorance of heavenly things (a certain token of heavy displeasure, if thy unspeakable mercy do not triumph against thy judgment) yet, O Lord our God, impute not, we beseech thee, unto her those her offences, which separate her from thy mercy; and, if it may stand with thine everlasting purpose and good pleasure, O Lord, grant unto us, we beseech thee, this mercy, which is about thy throne, that the eyes of her heart may be enlightened, that she may be converted unto thee; and grant her also, if it be thy blessed will, the heavenly comfort of thy Holy Spirit, that she may taste and see how gracious the Lord is. Thou hast no pleasure, good Lord, in the death of a sinner, and no man shall praise thy name in the pit; renew in her, O Lord, we most humbly beseech thy majesty, whatsoever is corrupt in her, either by her own frailty, or by the malice of the ghostly enemy; visit her, O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure, with thy saving health, as thou didst the offender at the side of thy cross, with this consolation: This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. Say unto her soul, as thou didst unto thy servant David, I am thy salvation; so shall thy mercy, being more mighty, be more magnified. Grant these mercies, O Lord, to us thy servants, to the increase of thy kingdom, and glory at this time. And further, O most merciful Father, preserve, we most humbly beseech thy majesty, in long and honorable peace and safety, Elizabeth thy servant, our most natural sovereign lady and queen; let them be ashamed and confounded, O Lord, that seek after her soul; let them be turned backward and put to confusion that wish her evil; and strengthen still, Lord, we pray thee, the hand and balance of justice amongst us, by her gracious government; so shall we both now and ever, rest under thy faithfulness and truth, as under our shield and buckler, and bless thy name and magnify thy mercy, which livest and reignest one most gracious God, for ever and ever. Amen."

Mary did not heed the Dean, but bowed in devotion till he ceased, when, records a spectator:

"She rose, and kneeled downe agayne, praying in English, for Christe's afflicted church, an end of hir troubles, for hir sonne, and for the Queen's majestye: to God for forgiveness of the sinns of them in this islande: Shee forgave hir ennemyes with all hir harte, that had longe sought hir blood. This done, she desired all saintes to make intercession for hir to the Saviour of the worlde, Jesus Christ. Then she began to kiss hir crucifix, and to cross hirself, saying these wordes: 'Even as thy armes, oh, Jesus Christ, were spredd heer upon the cross, so receive me into the armes of mercye.' Then the two executioners kneeled downe unto hir, desiring hir to forgive them hir death. Shee answered, "I forgive yow with all my harte. For I hope this death shall give an end to all my troubles.' They, with hir two weomen helping, began to disroabe hir, and then shee layde the crucifix upon the stoole. One of the executioners took from her neck the *Agnus Dei*, and shee layde hold of it, saying, she would give it to one of hir weomen, and, withal, told the executioner that he should have monye for it. Then they took off her chayne. Shee made hirself unready with a kinde of gladness, and smiling, putting on a payer of sleeves with her own handes, which the twoo executioners before had rudely put off, and with such speed, as if shee had longed to be gone out of the worlde.

"During the disroabing of this queen, shee never altered hir countenance, but smiling sayde, shee never had such groomes before to make hir unreadye, nor ever did putt of hir cloathes before such a companye. At lengthe unattyred and unapparrelled to hir petticoat and kirtle, the two weomen burst out into a great and pittiful shrieking, crying and lamentation, crossed themselves and prayed in Lattine. The queen turned towards them: '*Ne cry vous, j'ay preye pur vous:*' and so crossed, and kissed them and bad them pray for hir.

"Then with a smiling countenance shee turned to her men servants, Melvin and the rest, crossed them, badd them farwell, and pray for her to the last.

"One of the weomen having a Corpus Christi cloathe, lapped it upp three corner wise, and kissed it, and put it over the face of hir queen, and pynned it fast upon the caule of

hir head. Then the two weomen departed. The queen kneeled downe upon the cushion resolutely, and, without any token of feare of death, sayde allowde in Lattin the psalme, *In te domine, confido.* Then groaping for the block, she layde down hir head, putting hir cheane over her back with bothe her handes, which, holding their still, had been cut off, had they not been espyed.

"Then she layde hirself upon the blocke most quietly, and stretching out hir armes, cryed out: *In manus tuas, domine commendo spiritum meum*, three or four tymes.

"Att last, while one of the executioners held hir streightly with one of his handes, the other gave two stroakes with an axe before he did cutt of hir head.

"Shee made very smale noyse, no part stirred from the place where shee laye. The executioners lifted upp the head and bad God save the Queen. Then hir dressinge of Lawne fell from hir head, which appeared as graye as if she had byn thre score and ten yeares olde. Hir face much altred, hir lipps stirred upp and down almost a quarter of an hower after hir head was cut off. Then sayde Mr. Deane: 'So perish all the Queen's ennemyes.' The Earl of Kent camme to the dead body, and with a lower voice sayde, 'Such end happen to all the Queen's and Gospell's ennemyes.' One of the executioners espyed hir little dogg which was crept under hir cloathes, which would not be gotten fourth but with force, and afterwardes would not departe from the dead corps, but camme and layde between hir head and shoulders; a thing much noted. The dogg embrewed in her blood was carryed awaye and washed, as all things els were that had any blood, save those thinges which were burned. The executioners were sent awaye with mony for their fees, not having any one thyng that belonged unto hir. Afterwardes every one was commanded forth of the hall, saving the Sherife and his men, who carryed hir up into a great chamber made ready for the Surgeons to embalme hir, and there shee was embalmed."

The "things burned" were the golden cross, the chaplets suspended to her girdle, and the apparel in

which she was beheaded, that they might not be kept as relics by her friends of like faith.

The castle gates were closed, and none allowed to depart, until Henry Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was dispatched to Elizabeth with the account of the tragedy. He reached Greenwich, where Elizabeth then was, February 9th, 1587. Before sunset the news spread over London; the ringing of bells and illuminations proclaimed the wild and fanatical rejoicings of the populace.

The funeral pageant is described by an eye-witness of the imposing ceremonies:

FUNERAL AND INTERMENT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.*

"On Sunday, the 30th of July, reckoning according to the new reformation of the calendar, the 8th of August, 1587, about eight o'clock in the evening, there came to Fotheringay Castle, a carriage drawn by four horses, attired in mourning, and covered with black velvet with the arms of Scotland, the carriage or coach covered in like manner all round with small banneroles, exhibiting partly the arms of Scotland, partly those of the house of Anjou, from which the deceased husband of her majesty was descended. The king of the heralds having arrived with about twenty men on horseback, both gentlemen and others, and some servitors and lacqueys, all dressed in mourning, went up to the chamber where the corpse was, directed it to be carried down and put into the same carriage, which was done with all possible reverence, all bare-headed and in silence; while this was doing, the servants, to whom no notice had been given, astonished at these preparations, were consulting among themselves whether they ought to follow the body to see what was going to be done with it, deeming that it was not their duty to let it be carried away without being accompanied by some of them, the said

* There cannot be a doubt that this paper, written in French, proceeds from one who had belonged to the household of the Queen of Scots.

king of the heralds went and explained to them the commission which he had received from his mistress, touching the interment of the body and the funeral which she had promised, for which he had been commanded to make arrangements, and to pay all the honors to the deceased that he could. Whereupon, wishing to comply with these directions, and having already prepared many things necessary for this purpose, it was thought more expedient to remove the corpse that night, than to wait till the day fixed for its interment, which was the following Tuesday, as well on account of the distance, which was about three French leagues from thence, and because the leaden coffin would be too heavy to be carried in state, and it could not take place on the day appointed, without collecting a great concourse of people, and producing confusion, or default of some kind; and as the vault was already made, they proposed to deposit the body in it this night, and on the Tuesday to perform the funeral obsequies with due ceremony, for the greater convenience; and that it was advisable for some of them, such as they should think proper, to accompany the corpse, and to see what should be done with it, and that the rest of the servants should go thither next day to attend the funeral on the day appointed.

"All being thus prepared, the corpse was carried out about ten o'clock at night, accompanied by the said herald and other English, with seven servants of her majesty, namely, Monsieur Melvin, Monsier Burgoin, Pierre Corion, Annibal Stonard, Jean Lander, and Nicolas de la Mare, preceded by men on foot bearing lighted torches, to give light on the road, and arrived about two in the morning at Peterbourg, which is a small town, not walled any more than the other towns of England, on the river, ... where has been built a very handsome church, the work of an ancient king of England named Peda.* Here, in the times of the Catholic reli-

*"The present building of the Peterborough cathedral is the third church on this site. The first was founded by Peada, King of Mercia, in 656, as a Benedictine monastery, which afterwards became one of the most important of the English abbeys. This church was destroyed by the Danes in 870-3.

gion, there was an abbey of monks of St. Benedict, now erected into a bishopric—for all the abbeys have been suppressed—where canons officiate to their institution, in the same sort of dress and vestment as ours.

"In this church was interred that good Queen Catherine, wife of the late King Henry VIII., on the left side within the choir, where there is still her monument, adorned with a canopy, with her armorial bearings. On the right side, exactly opposite, was made a grave, bricked all round, and of sufficient depth, wherein was deposited the corpse of her majesty in the two coffins. In the middle of the choir was erected a dome, resembling the *chapelles ardents* in France, excepting that it was covered with black velvet, garnished all over with the arms of Scotland, with bipartite banneroles, as it has been said. Within it was placed the *representation*, which was in the form of a bier covered with black velvet, and upon it a pillow of crimson velvet, on which was laid a crown. The church was hung with black cloth, from the door to the interior of the choir, sprinkled with the said armorial bearings.

"On the arrival of the body, the bishop of the said town of Peterbourg, in his episcopal habit, but without mitre, crosier or cope, with the dean and some others in their canonicals, came to receive the body at the entrance of the church, and preceded it to the said grave, in which it was put in the presence of all, without chanting or tolling, or saying a word; and then they deliberated about saying some customary prayers, but agreed to defer them till the day of the funeral. The workmen immediately set about making an arch of brick over the grave, which covered the whole, level with the ground, leaving only an aperture of about a foot and a half, through which might be seen what was within, and also for admitting the broken staves of the officers and the flags, which it is customary to put down at the funerals of sovereigns.

"On Monday, the preparations were completed; the rooms in which the banquet was to be held were hung, and the herald requested the servants who had come hither to look at

The second was founded in 971 and burned down in 1116. The oldest part now standing is the choir, consecrated about 1140."—BÆDEKER.

and consider the whole, explaining how he intended to proceed; that if they saw anything wanting, anything that needed amending or correcting, whatever it might be, that they thought not proper, and it should be made to their satisfaction; that such was the pleasure of his mistress, that nothing was to be spared; and that if he had failed to obey these directions it would be his fault, wishing the whole to be done in the most honorable manner possible. Whereto answer was very coldly made, that it was not for them to find fault; that his mistress and he were discreet enough to do what was right, as they had agreed, and that the whole was dependent on their pleasure.

"The Queen of England had some days before sent cloth to make mourning for the servants of her majesty, as much as was necessary for the men to make a cloak apiece for Monsieur Melvin, Monsieur Bourgoin, and a gown for each of the women, but some of them declined it, making shift with their own dresses, which they had got made for mourning immediately after the death of the deceased, and as the headdresses of the ladies and women were not according to the fashion of the country for mourning, a woman was sent on purpose to make others in their fashion, to be worn by them on the day of the funeral, and to be theirs afterward; so anxious was that sweet Elizabeth to have it believed that she was sorry for the death of her majesty, that she furnished all the mourning dresses worn by those who walked in the procession, more than three hundred and fifty in number, paying the whole expense."

The procession was composed of "poor women mourners to the number of one hundred," the nobility, with their attendants, grooms of the chamber, Scots in cloaks, officers of the realm, and the corpse, borne by six esquires in cloaks. In the procession were borne the standard of Scotland, the great banner, the helm, crest, target, sword, coat, etc., together with eight banneroles, and the canopy, of black velvet, fringed with gold, borne by four knights.

"The body being thus brought into the quire, was set down within the royal hearse, which was twenty feet square, and twenty-seven feet in height, covered over with black velvet, and richly set with escutcheons of arms and fringe of gold; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvet, lay a purple velvet cushion, fringed and tasseled with gold, and upon the same a close crown of gold set with stones; after the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the sermon was begun by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which certain anthems were sung by the choir, and the offering began very solemnly, as followeth:

"The Offering.

"First, the chief mourner offered for the queen, attended upon by all ladies. The coat, sword, target, and helme, was severally carried up by the two Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, one after another, and received by the Bishop of Peterborough, and Mr. Garter, king at arms.

The standard alone.
The great banner alone.
The lady chief mourner alone.
The trayne-bearer alone.
The two earls together.
The lord steward. The lord chamberlayne.
The Bishop of Lincoln alone.
The four lords assistants to the body.
The treasurer, comptroller, and vice-chamberlayne.
The four knights that bore the canopy.

"In which offeringe every course was led up by a herald. for the more order; after which, the two bishops and the Dean of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funeral service: which being said, every officer broke his staff over his head, and threw the same into the vault to the body; and so every one departed, as they came, after their degrees, to the bishop's palace, where was prepared a most royal feast, and a dole given unto the poor."

Delivered from one cause of fear, Elizabeth was tormented with apprehensions of danger from the foreign princes, whose protest she had scorned. Affect-

ing ignorance of Mary's death, she despised and punished the agents of her cruel work. She even denied either knowledge or approval of the execution. France heard with surprise and sadness of the event, and anathemas were thundered by the priesthood against the "English Jezebel." The king of Scotland, in hot indignation, declared vengeance upon the slayer of his mother. The Queen wrote letters of explanation and conciliation. Philip II. seriously indulged the design of avenging Mary's death. The grand armada, and its destruction, were the fruits of his anger. Elizabeth, victorious over all enemies, advanced the grandeur and glory of England. When dying, March 24th, 1602, she was desired to declare her successor; she replied, "Who but my kinsman, the King of Scots?" She soon after expired, a learned, powerful, vain, haughty, violent, and dissimulating sovereign. She sleeps beside her rival in Westminster Abbey.

Mary Stuart was born while her father, James V., was sinking with a fatal wound received in battle for the independence of Scotland. Around her cradle began the contest, whether a French alliance or the house of Tudor should prevail. France for a while was triumphant, and gave to Mary all the happiness she ever knew. She ascended the throne of Scotland, while the Reformation was rocking her native soil with earthquake violence. With the refinement and corruption of a dazzling court affecting her manners and feelings, and a witching beauty of person, she had no sympathy with either the customs or religion of her Protestant subjects. Gallantries made her obnoxious to the contempt of the Puritans, and weak-

cned her influence with the people. Unfortunate in her marriages, impulsive in her passions, ambitious in her aims, and a firm Catholic, she lost her crown at the hand of the Reformers, and imprudently threw herself upon the mercy of Elizabeth, whose successor she determined to be. Plots and conspiracies completed her ruin, which unyielding rivalry sealed with blood.

Mary Stuart was a charming woman in mind, disposition, and conversation. But an impure breath soiled her young heart; soaring aspirations lured her ever onward from one doubtful experiment to another; and adherence to an exclusive, persecuting faith lent the delusive zeal of the fanatic to her religious life. Her unfilial son attained to the honor she so ardently desired for him, and both have slept during the fierce commotions of centuries, in the magnificent tomb of kings. Both, with the imperious Elizabeth, have confronted a Judge who is no respecter of persons, and renders to each immortal, righteous judgment. To the blind and to the impartial admirer of Mary, there is alike a picture of female character, amid whose brilliant lines and gloomy shades there are touches of life's pencil, suggestive of chastening thoughts, and illustrative of the transcendent excellence of Christian purity and principle, which would have adorned and saved from premature wreck, her genius, love and beauty.

THE END.

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Regent's Daughter. By Alex. Dumas.
Representative Men. R. W. Emerson.
Republic of Plato.
Reveries of a Bachelor. By Ik Marvel.
Richelieu, Cardinal, Life of. By Richard Lodge.
Rienzi. By Bulwer-Lytton.
Robinson Crusoe. Daniel Defoe.
Rob Roy. Sir Walter Scott.
Romance of Two Worlds. By Marie Corelli.
Romola. By George Eliot.
Rory O'Moore. Samuel Lover.
Rossetti's Poems.
Royal Edinburgh. Mrs. Oliphant.
Rutledge. Miriam Coles Harris.
Samantha at Saratoga. By Josiah Allen's Wife.
Sartor Resartus. Thomas Carlyle.
Scarlet Letter. Nathaniel Hawthorne.
Schonberg-Cotta Family. By Mrs. Andrew Charles.
Schopenhauer's Essays.
Scottish Chiefs. By Jane Porter.
Scott's Poems. Walter Scott.
Second Wife. The. E. Marlitt.
Seekers After God. F. W. Farrar.
Self-Help. By Samuel Smiles.
Self-Raised. By Mrs. Southworth.
Seneca's Morals.
Sense and Sensibility. By Jane Austen.
Sentimental Journey. Laurence Sterne.
Sesame and Lillies. John Ruskin.
Shakespeare's Heroines. Anna Jameson.
Shelley's Poems.
Shirley. By Charlotte Bronte.
Sing of the Four. By A. Conan Doyle.
Silas Marner. By George Eliot.
Silence of Dean Maitland. By Maxwell Grey.
Sir Gibbie. George Macdonald.
Sketch Book. By Washington Irving.
Socrates, Trial and Death of.
Soldiers Three. Rudyard Kipling.
Spy, The. By James F. Cooper.
Stanley, Henry M., Life of. By A. Montefiore.
Story of an African Farm. By Olive Schreiner.
Story of John G. Paton. By Rev. Jas. Paton.
St. Elmo. By Augusta J. Evans.
St. Ronan's Well. Walter Scott.
Study in Scarlet. A. Conan Doyle.
Surgeon's Daughter, The. By Sir Walter Scott.
Swineburne's Poems.
Swiss Family Robinson. By Jean Rudolph Wyss.
Taking the Bastile, Alex. Dumas.
Tale of Two Cities, Chas. Dickens.
Tales from Shakespeare. By Charles and Mary Lamb.
Tales of a Traveller. By Washington Irving.
Talisman. Sir Walter Scott.
Tanglewood Tales. N. Hawthorne.
Tempest and Sunshine. By Mary J. Holmes.
Ten Nights in a Bar Room. By T. S. Arthur.
Tennyson's Poems.
Ten Years Later, Alex. Dumas.
Terrible Temptation. Charles Reade.
Thaddeus of Warsaw. By Jane Porter.
Thelma. By Marie Corelli.
Thirty Years' War. By Frederick Schiller.
Thousand Miles Up the Nile. By Amelia B. Edwards.

Three Guardsmen. Alex Dumas.
Three Men in a Boat. Jerome.
Thrift. By Samuel Smiles.
Throne of David. J. H. Ingraham.
Toilers of the Sea. Victor Hugo.
Tom Brown at Oxford. By Thomas Hughes.
Tom Brown's School Days. By Thos. Hughes.
Tour of the World in Eighty Days. By Jules Verne.
Treasure Island. R. L. Stevenson.
Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea. By Jules Verne.
Twenty Years After. Alex. Dumas.
Twice Told Tales. N. Hawthorne.
Two Admirals. By J. F. Cooper.
Two years Before the Mast. By R. H. Dana, Jr.
Uarda. By George Ebers.
Uncle Max. Rosa N. Carey.
Uncle Tom's Cabin. By Harriet Beecher Stowe.
Under Two Flags. By "Ouida."
Utopia. By Sir Thomas Moore.
Vanity Fair. Wm. M. Thackery.
Vendetta. By Marie Corelli.
Vicar of Wakefield. By Oliver Goldsmith.
Vicomte de Bragelonne. By Alexandre Dumas.
Views A-Foot. Bayard Taylor.
Villette. By Charlotte Bronte.
Virginians. Wm. M. Thackeray.
Walden. By Henry D. Thoreau.
Wandering Jew, The. Vol. I. By Eugene Sue.
Wandering Jew, The. Vol. II. By Eugene Sue.
Washington and His Generals. By J. T. Headley.
Washington, George. Life of. By Jared Sparks.
Water Babies. Charles Kingsley.
Water Witch. James F. Cooper.
Waverly. By Sir Walter Scott.
Webster, Daniel, Life of. By Samuel M. Schmucker.
Webster's Speeches. (Selected).
Westward Ho. Charles Kingsley.
We Two. By Edna Lyall.
White Company. A Conan Doyle.
Whites and the Blues. Dumas.
Whittier's Poems. J. G. Whittier.
Wide, Wide World. By Susan Warner.
William, the Conqueror, Life of. By Edward A. Freeman.
William, the Silent, Life of. By Frederick Harrison.
Window in Thrums. J. M. Barrie.
Wing and Wing. J. F. Cooper.
Wolsey, Cardinal, Life of. By Mandell Creighton.
Woman in White. Wilkie Collins.
Won by Waiting. Edna Lyall.
Wonder Book. N. Hawthorne.
Woodstock. By Sir Walter Scott.
Wordsworth's Poems.
Wormwood. By Marie Corelli.